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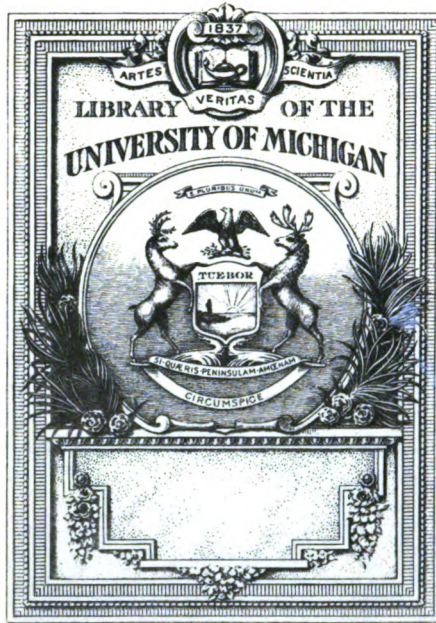
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AMADAS ET YDOINE

THE OLD FRENCH ROMANCE
OF
AMADAS ET YDOINE
An Historical Study

BY
JOHN REVELL REINHARD, PH.D.
Editor of *Le Roman d'Eledus* and of
Amadas et Ydoine



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PREFATORY NOTE

The following work is a comparative and historical study designed to accompany the author's edition of *Amadas et Ydoine*, published under the direction of Professor Mario Roques in the *Classiques français du moyen âge*, Paris, 1926. Much of the material of chapters III, IV and V appeared, in a slightly different arrangement, in the *Romanic Review*, from which it is reprinted with the editor's kind permission.¹ Purely linguistic matters have been excluded here, and will be found discussed summarily in the edition of the text.

I here take pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness—except for error—and in rendering my grateful thanks to those scholars who were once my teachers and who have not ceased to be my masters: the late Professor Emeritus Edward S. Sheldon, Professor G. L. Kittredge, Professor J. D. M. Ford, and Professor K. G. T. Webster. My sincere thanks are likewise due to the Directors of Duke University Press for undertaking the publication of my book, and to Professor F. A. G. Cowper and Professor Paull F. Baum of Duke University for sympathetic suggestions and editorial care throughout.

JOHN R. REINHARD.

ANN ARBOR,
 December, 1926.

¹ *Romanic Review*, edited by John L. Gerig and published by the Columbia University Press, New York, XV (1924), 179-214, 215-265.

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AMADAS ET YDOINE

CHAPTER I

THE ROMANCE IN ITS OWN TIME

Readers and students have long been familiar with Amadis, the hero of *Amadis de Gaula*, and with Sir Amadace, who gives his name to the Middle English romance; but the names of Amadas and Ydoine (or Idoine) are not so well known.

In addition to the forms just mentioned, the name Amadas also occurs in *Roswall and Lillian*,¹ and in the form Amadaus in *L'Entree d'Espagne*. Montalvo says that the hero of his romance was named for St. Amatus, but we are more inclined to believe that he took his name from the poem which João Lobeira composed about Amadis between the years 1258 and 1285. Amadigi is, of course, the form which the elder Tasso gave to the Spanish hero's name.

The name Ydoine, in its various forms, is of more frequent occurrence in mediaeval literature, designating now a man and now a woman. As the name of a man it occurs in the early *Foulque de Candie* and in *Aymeri de Narbonne*. In the former it refers to a Saracen chief; in the latter *le viel Ydoine*³ is king of Arabia. As the name of a woman it is used as early as 1170 by Jendeu de Brie in *Renier*, by Audefrois le Bastard in his charming "romance" *La Bele Ydoine*, in the "débat" of *Melior et Idoine*, in *Clariss et Laris*, and in the tale *Du Segretain Moine*.⁴ In the Gawain romance *Hunbaut* we find the form Ydone,⁵ and in Raoul de Houdenc's *Meraugis de Portlesgues* there is a lady called Lidoine. Eudes Rigaud in his *Regestrum* under the date "nones of July, 1249," speaks of a religious Idoine who, it seemed to him, was somewhat lax in her moral conduct.⁶

¹ Ellis, *Specimens of Early English Romances*, III, pp. 371-383, v. 394.

² Ed. A. Thomas, SATF, v. 14816.

³ Not *la belle Ydoine*, as M. de Bure supposed, and as Ritson corrected long ago, *Metrical Romances*, II, pp. 188-189.

⁴ Montaiglon et Raynaud, *Recueil Général et Complet des Fabliaux*, V, pp. 215 ff.

⁵ The form used exclusively by Perot de Neele in his summary; cf. *Amadas*, ed. Renhard, pp. 284 ff. *Ille et Galeron* has both Ydone and Ydoine.

⁶ It is interesting to note that the name was used as late as the *Titan* of J. P. F. Richter (d. 1825). It is sufficient comment on the meaning of the names to recall the Latin verb *amare* and the Latin adjective *idoneus*, *-a*, *-um*.

In the documents cited above the names Amadas and Ydoine have not appeared together, nor have they appeared in such a way as to induce one to suspect that one name bears any relation to the other. But in the *Donnei des Amanz* we find Amadas and Ydoine mentioned together in the rôle of famous lovers. They are referred to in the same rôle in *Gautier d'Aupais*, if we accept,—and it seems inexcusably pedantic not to do so,—the emendation *Ydoine* for *preudome* suggested by G. Paris.⁷

The fact is that Amadas and Ydoine have given their names to an Old French “roman d'aventure” composed not far from the year 1220. This romance, *Amadas et Ydoine*, bears no relation whatsoever to the documents cited above—except the *Donnei des Amanz* and *Gautier d'Aupais*. No one ever thought it might bear a relation to any of them except *Sir Amadace*. But this was an unhappy thought: the Old French poem is a romance of adventure dealing with love and love-madness, whereas the Middle English *Sir Amadace* is a romanticized popular folk-tale of the grateful dead man. Professor Gollancz in his edition of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*⁸ errs in connecting Larminie's story “Beauty of the World”⁹ with *Amadas et Ydoine*; the Irish tale is merely a version of the grateful dead man motif. Professor O. F. Emerson makes the same mistake in his note to line 20 of the *Cursor Mundi*.¹⁰ An error of this sort is easy enough to make in this—to paraphrase Langland—“crowded field full of folk”; but it should not be continually repeated. If anyone were to be associated with Amadas, it ought to be Amadis.

The romance of Amadas and his lady has been neglected for and overshadowed by mightier names,¹¹—of Tristan and Iseult, Amis and Amiles, and by the Arthurian heroes of Chrétien de Troyes. *Amadas et Ydoine* is seldom mentioned by scholars and literary histories, and then but briefly and often inaccurately. We find a correct account of it by Littré in the twenty-second volume of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, by G. Paris in the fourth

⁷ *Mélanges de littérature française*, I, p. 334, note 1.

⁸ Note to line 614.

⁹ *West Irish Folk-Tales*, pp. 155-167.

¹⁰ *A Middle English Reader*, 1916. See also *Cambridge History of English Literature*, I, p. 523 *sub voce* Sir Amadas.

¹¹ Unjustly so, it seems, particularly in view of its interest for *Romeo and Juliet* by virtue of the resurrection scene.

edition of his *Littérature française au Moyen Age*, by G. Gröber in volume II, Part I of his *Grundriss*. It is properly referred to by Schofield¹² and Ker,¹³ inadequately by Saintsbury¹⁴ and Wurzbach;¹⁵ Lanson¹⁶ does not mention it at all. The text was edited in 1863 by Célestin Hippeau; a second edition has been prepared by the present writer for the "Classiques français du Moyen Age."¹⁷

But if *Amadas et Ydoine* is more or less obscure today, such was not its fate in the Middle Ages; there are seven mentions of the romance in English literature, four in Dutch, and two in French. The first of these occurs in the *Luve Ron*,¹⁸ a Middle English poem celebrating the mystic union of the soul with Christ. It was written as a spiritual guide for a young woman of his acquaintance by the Franciscan Thomas of Hales about 1240. To her he points out that Christ is the richest lover in the whole world; He never changes, nor does He pass away into oblivion as do mere worldly lovers:

Hwer is Paris and Heleyne
That weren so bryht and feyre on bleo,
Amadas, *Tristram* and *Ideyne*,
Yseude and alle theo,
Ector with his sharpe meyne,
And Cesar, rich of worldes feo?
Heo beoth iglyden ut of the reyne
So the sheft is of the cleo.¹⁹

About the middle of the fourteenth century was written the alliterative poem called *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*.²⁰ Like Thomas of Hales, the author laments the oblivion into which famous lovers have fallen:

¹² *English Literature from the Conquest to Chaucer*, London, 1906.

¹³ *English Literature: Mediaeval*, Home Univ. Library Series.

¹⁴ *A Short History of French Literature*, Oxford, 1882.

¹⁵ *Geschichte des französischen Romans*, Heidelberg, 1912.

¹⁶ *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1895.

¹⁷ No translation has yet appeared; that submitted by the author to an English publisher ten years ago had to be withdrawn until such time as a critical text could be established.

¹⁸ Ed. R. Morris for the EETS in *An Old English Miscellany*.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 95, vv. 65-72.

²⁰ Ed. I. Gollancz, London, 1897.

Now of the prowdeste in presse that paramoures loueden
 I schalle titly yow telle and tary no lengere.
Amadase and *Edoyne* in erthe are thay bothe
 That in gold and in grene were gay in thaire tyme;
 And sir Sampson hym selfe full sauage of his dedys,
 And Dalyda his derlynge, and now dethe has tham boghte.
 Sir Ypomadonn de Poelle, full priste in his armes,
 The faire Fere de Calabre, now faren are thay bothe.
 Generides the gentill, ful joly in his tyme,
 And Clarionas, that was so clere, are closed in erthe.

And sir Tristrem the trewe, ful triste of hym-seluen,
 And Ysoute, his awnn lufe, in erthe are thay bothe.
 Whare es now Dame Dido was qwene of Cartage?
 Dame Candace the comly, quene of Babyloyn?
 Penelopie that was price and passid alle othere,
 And dame Gaynore the gaye, now grauen are thay bothen;
 And othere moo than I may mene, or any man elles.²¹

The author of the *Cursor Mundi*²² also had a wide knowledge of the famous lovers of the Middle Ages. The short preface to his great religious story informs us what literature was popular in his day:

Man yherne rimes for to here
 And romans rede on maneres sere,
 Of Alisaundur the conqueror;
 Of July Cesar the emparour;
 O Grece and Troy the strang strijf,
 There many thosand lesis ther lijf;
 O Brut, that bern hald of hand,
 The first conqueror of England,
 O kyng Arthour that was so rike,
 Quam non in hys tim was like.

Of Tristrem and his leif Ysote,
 How he for here becam a sote.
 O Ioneck and Ysembrase,
 O *Ydoine* and of *Amadase*.²³

One of the treasures of the Middle Ages was embroidery;²⁴ not only arras, but bed tapestries were often richly worked. Such

²¹ *Op. cit.*, stanza xx.

²² Ed. R. Morris, EETS; dated ca. 1320.

²³ *Op. cit.*, vv. 1 f.

²⁴ Illustrations of rich cloths may be seen in Cahier et Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie*.

a tapestry, richly embroidered with the stories of lovers, adorned the bed of Emare, as we read in the romance of that name:²⁵

In that korner made was
Ydoyne and *Amadas*
 Wyth loue that was so trewe;
 For they loueden hem wyth honour,
 Portrayed they wer wyth trewe-loue-flour,
 Of stones bryght of hewe:
 Wyth carbunkulle and safere,
 Kassydonys and onyx so clere,
 Sette in golde newe;
 Deamondes and rubyes,
 And othur stones of mycgylle pryse
 And menstrellys with her gle[we].²⁶

Similarly, in *Sir Degrevant*,²⁷ the bed of the beautiful Melidore is painted with the story of two lovers:

Hur bede was of azure,
 With testure and celure,
 With a bright bordure
 Compasyd ful clene;
 And all a story as hit was
 Of *Ydoyne* and *Amadas*,
 Perreye in ylke plas
 And papageyes of grene.²⁸

Not the least among those who delighted to read the tales of lovers was John Gower. In his youth, even he had made "foolish love ditties." It may be that in the *Lover's Confession* he voices some of his own failings:

And eke in otherwise also
 Ful ofte time it falleth so,
 Myn eare with good pitance,
 Is fed of reding of romance
 Of *Ydoine* and *Amadas*
 That whilom weren in my cas.²⁹

²⁵ Ed. E. Rickert, Chicago, 1907; Ritson, *op. cit.*, II; dated *ca.* 1350.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, stanza 11.

²⁷ Ed. Halliwell, *Thornton Romances*; dated 1350-1400.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 238, vv. 1473 f.

²⁹ *Confessio Amantis*, VI, vv. 875 f.; ed. G. C. Macaulay, *Works*, Oxford, 1901; dated 1386-90.

If the *Cursor Mundi* shows us what people of the Middle Ages liked to read, the testament of Guy Beauchamp shows us what some of them had in their libraries. In Mr. Ashmole's *Register of the Earl of Ailesbury's Evidences* we find a letter signed by Guy wherein are listed the romances which he bequeaths to the Abbey of Bordesley in Worcestershire. The testament is worth quoting at length.

A tus iceux, qe ceste lettre verront, ou orront, Gwy de Beauchamp. Counte de Warr. Saluz en Deu. Sachez nous avoir bayle e en la garde le Abbe e le Covent de Bordesleye lesse a demorer a touz jours touz les Romaunces de souz nomes; ceo est assaveyr, un Volum, qe est appele Tresor. Un Volum, en le quel est le premer livre de Lancelot. E un Volum del Romaunce de Aygnes. Un Sauter de Romaunce. Un Volum des Evangiles, e de Vie des Seins. Un Volum, qe parle des quatre principals Gestes de Charles, e de Dooun, e de Meyance. e de Girard de Viene, e de Emery de Nerbonne. Un Volum del Romaunce Emond de Ageland, e deu Roy Charles Dooun de Nauntoile. E le Romaunce de Gwyoun de Nantoyl. E un Volum del Romaunce Titus et Vespasien. E un Volum del Romaunce Josep ab Arimathie, e deu Saint Grael. E un Volum, qe parle coment Adam fust enieste hors de paradys, e le Genesie. E un Volum, en le quel sont contenuz touns des Romaunces, ceo est assaveir, Vitus patrum au commencement; e pus un Counte de Anteypt; e la Vision Saint Pol; e pus les Vies des xii Seins. E le Romaunce de Willame de Loungespe. E Autorites des Seins humes. E le Mirour de Alme. Un Volum, en le quel sont contenuz la Vie Saint Pere e Saint Pol, e des autres *liv*. E un Volum, qe est appele l'Apocalips. E un livre de Phisik e de Surgie. Un Volum del Romaunce de Gwy e de la Reygne tut enterement. Un Volum del Romaunce de Troies. Un Volum del Romaunce de Willame de Orenge e de Tebaud de Arabie. *Un Volum del Romaunce de Amase [sic] e de Idoine.* Un Volum del Romaunce Girard de Viene. Un Volum del Romaunce deu Brut, e del Roy Costentine. Un Volum de le enseignement Aristotle enveiez au Roy Alisaundre. Un Volum de la mort ly Roy Arthur, e de Mordret. Un Volum en le quel sont contenuz les Enfaunces Nostre Seygneur, coment il fust mene en Egipt. E la Vie Saint Edwd. E la Visoun Saint Pol. La Vengeance nostre Seygneur par Vespasien e Titus. E la Vie Saint Nicolas, qe fust nez en Patras. E la Vie Saint Eustace. E la Vie Saint Gudlac. E la Passioun nostre Seygneur. E la Meditacioun Saint Bernard de nostre Seignr. E la Vie Eufrasie. E la Vie Saint *[sic]* Radegonde. E la Vie Saint *[sic]* Juliane. Un Volum en le quel est aprise de Enfants et lumiere a Lays. Un Volum del Romaunce d'Alisaundre, ove peintures. Un petit rouge livre, en le quel sont contenuz mous diverses choses. Un Volum del Romaunce des Mareschaus, e de Ferebras, e de Alisaundre. Les queus livres nous grauntons pur nos heys e pur nos assignes quil demorront

en la dit Abbeye, etc. . . . Escrites au Bordesleye le premer jour de May le an du regn le Roy Edwd. trentime quart.⁸⁰

When Guy, Count of Warwick, in 1361 bequeathed these romances to remain at Bordesley Abbey "a touz jours," he could not know that the wars of the sixteenth century would scatter both the abbey and the romances to the four winds. On July 17, 1538, John Day surrendered the abbey with all its possessions into the king's hands; and by July 31, the house had been "defaced and plucked down and the substance thereof sold to divers persons without profit or lucre paid or answered to the King's majesty's use for the same."⁸¹ "There are no vestiges now remaining," says Sir William Dugdale, "of Bordesley Abbey. The foundations are said to have been discovered in different parts of eight acres of ground."⁸²

Thus perished the only copy of *Amadas et Ydoine* which we know that England possessed; and the English version of the romance, if there was one, has left no trace of its existence. However, the story lived in men's minds, as we have seen. It was popular not only in England, but across the Channel as well, among the romance readers and writers of the Netherlands.

In a fragment of the poem about Alexander which Maerlant (b. 1225) wrote in his youth we read:

*Amadas, so dul wel langhe wile.*⁸³

About one hundred years later was written the *Roman van Heinric en Margriete van Limborch*, wherein is expressed the opinion that it is inexpedient to languish for love

Geliic dat dede *Amedas*
Die .iii. jaer van minnen verwoet was.⁸⁴

In *Sidrac en Bottus*, which has almost disappeared from the ken of man, we learn that in its time men delighted to read

⁸⁰ Todd, *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer*, pp. 161 ff. For a more complete version of this document, cf. Michel, *Tristan*, I, pp. cxx ff.

⁸¹ *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, II, p. 153.

⁸² *Monasticon Anglicanum*, V, p. 409.

⁸³ Ed. F. A. Snellaert, *Alexanders geesten*, Bruxelles, 1860; cf. Bk. VIII, 112.

⁸⁴ Ed. L. Ph. C. van den Bergh; cf. XI, 849.

van Paerthenopeuse, van *Amidase*,
 van Troijen ende van Fierabrase,
 ende van menighen boeken die men mint
 ende daer men litel oerbaren in vint.³⁵

A sort of *jeu-parti* between a young man and a young lady on the nature of love entitled *Van der Feesten: een proper dinc*, shows considerable knowledge of romantic lovers:

Alse Partenopeus end *Amadas*,
 Piramus ende oec Florijs,
 Achilles ende Porphiras,
 Eneas, Tristram end oec Parijs.³⁶

In Romance literature the references to Amadas and Ydoine are fewer; only two have come to light. In the *Donnei des Amanz*, an Anglo-Norman poem of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, we find Ydoine mentioned with Dido and Iseult as an example of a faithful and loyal lady:

Si pernez garde de Heleine
 E de Didun e de Ymaine
 E de *Ydoine* e de Ysoud:
 Chascun asez s'acrent e dout;
 E nequedent ne leisse mie
 De fere a sun amant aïe.
 Quant en greinur doute serrez,
 Bele amie, garde pernez.
 Quei feit Didun pur Eneas,
 E *Ydoine* pur *Amadas*?
 Pour Itis quei refit Ymaine.
 E pur Paris la bele Eleine?
 E quei fit Ysoud pur Tristran?
 Si recorderz tuz lur haan
 E lur agueiz e lur pours
 E lur peines e lur dolurs.³⁷

Gautier d'Aupais not only mentions our lovers, but perhaps shows an influence from the earlier romance. Gautier, serving under a foreign lord, falls in love with his master's daughter. According to the *conte* she must have been very beautiful:

³⁵ Cf. van den Bergh, *Den Nederlandsche Volksroman*, p. 62.

³⁶ Cf. P. Blommaert, *Theophilus*, p. 74, vv. 195 ff.

³⁷ Michel, *Le Roman de Tristan*, I, pp. lxx ff.

Vous avez bien oi de la fame *Amandas*,
 D'Audain et de Sebile qui tant ama Berars,
 Et d'Elaine de Troie dont Menelaus fu las;
 Mais toute lor biaute fu a la sue gas.³⁸

Like Amadas, Gautier suffered very grievously for his lady:

Ainsi servi Gautiers toute une quarantaine
 Et souffri tel dolor qu'ainz Tristrans si grant paine
 Ne souffri por Yseut, ne Paris por Elaine,
 N' *Amandas* por *Ydoine*,³⁹ dont il ot tele estraine
 Qu'il en issi du sens, ce est chose certaine.⁴⁰

Finally, as in *Amadas*, the haughty lady falls properly in love and the two are happily married.

Thus we see that the writers of the Middle Ages assigned Amadas and Ydoine a place among the other famous men and women whom it knew. Out of laments for the Nine Worthies there developed laments for other warriors and wise men.⁴¹ From that point it was but a step to the lament for famous lovers, as we have seen in the English poems quoted above. Eventually the mere enumeration of lords and ladies dead and gone became an accepted literary convention, unwieldly in the hands of Lydgate⁴² and the learned Gower,⁴³ but beautiful and very graceful in the hands of their master, Chaucer.⁴⁴ The author of *Amadas* had plenty of models to follow in composing his own list of famous lovers. The loyalty of Ydoine has been impeached by the "maufé"; for the moment Amadas believes that his lady has betrayed him and gives voice to the following denunciation:

Qui aime, si est faus naïs.
 Dius! que ferai, dolans caitis? 5832
 Li cortois Tristrans fu traïs

³⁸ Ed. E. Faral, *Classiques français du M.A.*; cf. vv. 163 ff.; dated 13th century.

³⁹ I adopt *Ydoine* for *preudome*, emendation proposed by G. Paris, *Mélanges de littérature française*, I, p. 334, note 1.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, vv. 273 ff.

⁴¹ Cf. "De Mundi Vanitate" attributed to Walter Map, Wright's ed. p. 147; J. A. Symonds, *Wine, Women and Song*, p. 181.

⁴² "Wourldly Mutabilitie," Kölbing, *Eng. Stud.* XXV.

⁴³ Balade XLIII, ed. Macaulay, *Works*.

⁴⁴ Cf. the balade in the *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women*. Michel, *Tristan*, I, p. lxxxviii, quotes a similar poem attributed to Deschamps. See further, Gollancz, *Parlement*, Appendix.

Et deceüs et mal baillis	
De l'amisté Yseut la bloie.	5835
Si fu li biaux Paris de Troie	
Et d'Oënone et d'Elaine	
Dont il ot tant dolor et paine.	5838
Accilles de Pollixcenoy	
Fu deceüs a grant belloy,	
Ulixes de Penelopé	5841
Fu deceüs, c'est verité.	
Li enfes Floires de sa drue	
Fu traïs, c'est cose seüe;	5844
Autresi fu Rollans d'Audain,	
Car envers lui ot le cuer vain.	
Si fu Eneas de Lavine	5847
Que il ama tant d' amor fine.	
Si refu terciés et traïs	
Le preus, li larges, li hardis	5850
Alixandres qui tant valut;	
Bien sai sa feme le deçut.	
Si fu le sages Salemons	5853
Par feme traïs, et Sansons.	
Maint autre dont dire ne puis	
Ne mençoigne faire ne ruis.	5856
Dido et Lucrece et [J]ulie	
Amerent si toute leur vie	
Ne fu seü c'une enboisast,	5859
Ne Dido Eneas tricast,	
Ne Lucrece Collatinus,	
Non fist vers Tisbe Piramus;	5862
Ainc ne tricierent pour amer	
Dont l'en oïst avant parler.	
Mais je sai bien certainement	5865
C'ainc n'amerent si loialment	
Que aucun point par vain corage	
Ne feissent aucun folage.	6868
Ne sai, certes, que plus en die:	
Plaines sont de grant felounie. ⁴⁶	

One is inclined to suspect that Amadas was led away from the truth by the heat of his passion, for the character which he gives to some of these lovers does not correspond to that familiar to us from other sources. We see that there are two groups of lovers here,—those whose ladies were loyal and those whose ladies deceived them. Iseult, however unfaithful she may have

⁴⁶ For another list of famous lovers, cf. *Yder*, ed. H. Gelzer, vv. 2565 ff.

been to her husband, was certainly not so to Tristan, unless the sharing of her favors with her husband as well as with her lover can be so construed. It is true that in Welsh story *Essylt Vyingwen* is spoken of as one of the three incontinent wives of Britain—her sisters were the other two—but this does not affect her relations with Tristan. In some versions of the Tristan story the power of the love charm is considered as having abated after four years, after which Iseult naturally became unfaithful to her extra-marital lover. But in the Thomas version—which the writer believes was the one known by the *Amadas* poet—the power of the charm lasts till the death of the lovers. From Tristan's point of view Iseult must be considered a very loyal "amie."

We are not so much surprised that Helen should be considered a disloyal lady. According to Benoît, Polidamus and Palamedes (and probably many others) were in love with her. It seems that "La bele, la pro dame Heleine" provoked even Hector to demonstrations of affection:

Quant assez ot joï Paris
 Dist qu'ele va veeir Hector.
 Par mi la sale peinte a or
 En est tot dreite a lui venue;
 E quant il l'a aparceüe,
 Contre li saut et si l'embrace;
 Les ieuz e la boche e la face
 Li a baisié plus de cent feiz.⁴⁶

This really harmless incident—Hector is only congratulating her on the valor of her two husbands—may have been sufficient to convict Helen as a traitress in *Amadas'* opinion.

The tables are turned with respect to Oenone; it was not she who deserted Paris, but Paris who deserted her.⁴⁷ But a plausible excuse is given for including her among the number of the faithless by Apollodorus the Athenian,⁴⁸ whose putative work circulated about 175 A.D. "When he [Paris] had carried off Helen from Sparta and Troy was besieged, he was shot by Philoctetes with the bow of Hercules, and went back to Oenone

⁴⁶ *Roman de Troie*, ed. L. Constans, SATF, vv. 11732 ff.

⁴⁷ Ovid, *Heroides*, V.

⁴⁸ *The Library*, ed. and tr. by Sir J. G. Frazer, London and New York, 1921.

on Ida. But she, nursing her grievance, refused to heal him. So Alexander [i.e. Paris] was carried to Troy and died. But Oenone repented her, and brought the healing drugs; and finding him dead she hanged herself."⁴⁹ However human it may have been, Oenone's action, except in the dénouement, was not that of a loyal mistress. "The first known writer to quote him [Apollodorus] is Photius in the ninth century A.D., and the next are John and Isaac Tzetzes, the learned Byzantine grammarians of the twelfth century, who made much use of his book and often cite him by name."⁵⁰ How the story came to the knowledge of the *Amadas* poet is more than we can say.⁵¹

It seems to us that Polyxena was more sinned against than sinning. Whatever the tragic poets may say about her attitude toward Achilles, later writers are agreed that "Mout li plaiseit e bel li ere Qu'il [Achilles] la deveit prendre a moillier."⁵² Benoît further shows her much afflicted by his death,⁵³ agreeing with Philostratus in his *Heroica* (XIX.11). In the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*⁵⁴ by the latter author it is related that the shade of Achilles informs Apollonius that not only did Polyxena come to the sacrifice at his tomb of her own free will, but so great was her love for him that she herself took the sword and fell on it.⁵⁵

It is curious to find included in this list Penelope, who has become almost proverbial as an example of loving loyalty. Odysseus hears that lovers have been suing for her hand, it is true; but he also hears that

N'en voleit parole escouter,
Car dreite fei voleit porter
A Ulixes, son cher seignor;
Lui desiroit e nuit e jor;⁵⁶

whereupon his love for her is doubled. Ovid, too (*Heroides*, I), gives the picture of nothing if not of a faithful and loving wife.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 51.

⁵⁰ Frazer, *op. cit.*, I, xiii-xiv.

⁵¹ But see Dictys Cretensis, ed. F. Meister, Leipzig, 1873, III, 26, IV, 21.

⁵² *Roman de Troie*, ed. L. Constans, vv. 21232-3.

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, vv. 22435-48.

⁵⁴ Ed. and tr. by F. C. Conybeare, Loeb Classics.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, IV, 16. See also Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIII, 448.

⁵⁶ *Roman de Troie*, vv. 28970 ff.

Perhaps the fact that Blanchefleur was sold into the harem of an uxorious Sultan induced Amadas to regard her as an unfaithful mistress; if she was such, those versions we have of the story give no hint of it.

We must also say a word in defence of Aude. In none of the poems in which her name appears is she referred to as an unfaithful "amie," nor does the manner in which she is spoken of give the impression that she was at any time disloyal to Roland. In *Girard de Viane* (ca. 1225) it is recounted that Aude looks with favor upon Lambert, whom she sees just after he has disarmed.

Entre les autres samble bien home pris;
Aude le voit: nel mist pas en obli:
Un mantel riche a son col li pandi;
Par la main destre la pucele l'a pris;
Si l'enmenat ou palais signouri.
Sor un coute delez li l'a assis.
La le conforte la pucele a cler vis.⁵⁷

It would be impossible to find here anything disloyal in Aude's action, for she was not yet affianced to Roland. It is rather Charlemagne's nephew who appears in the light of an unfaithful lover. On Aude's inquiry as to his whereabouts on the return of the host from Spain Charles says:

ly duc Roullant a fame recueillie
fille Florent le roy de Valserie
pour sa beaute a la vostre guerpie.⁵⁸

It is difficult to see why Lavinia should be listed as a faithless lady. Throughout the latter half of the *Énéas* she is portrayed as having conceived a violent passion for the hero of that poem. It is true that her mother exhorts her to marry Turnus, and that Turnus subsequently attacks Énéas. But in all this Lavinia remains true to him and takes no part against him in word or deed. In the end the lovers are happily married.⁵⁹ Again Amadas' memory has failed him, or he has been carried away by the passion of his denunciation.

⁵⁷ P. Tarbé, *Girard de Viane*, p. 97.

⁵⁸ Cf. Trinity College, Cambridge, MS of the *Chanson de Roland*, ed. Foerster, *Altfranzösische Bibliothek*, VII, pp. 279-80.

⁵⁹ *Énéas*, ed. J. Salverda de Grave; cf. vv. 10105 f.

Among Alexander's numerous lady friends it would be hard to find that one whom Amadas considered unfaithful to him. Certainly it was not Roxana, at least as she appears to us in the following passage:

quant ne pot plus aler, si se prist a crier;
la belle Rosonez l'en ala redrecier,
et les ious et la face li commence a baisier.
"sire, rois Alixandre, vius me tu dont laisier
et guerpir en cest regne ta caitive mollier?
jou suis grose et ençainte, si ne me puis aidier.⁶⁰

Perhaps Amadas had in mind not Alexander's wife, but one of his numerous mistresses, such as Thaïs or Barsiné.⁶¹

Of Solomon and Samson, however, Amadas speaks the truth; both were notorious in the Middle Ages as having been the dupes of women, and are usually so mentioned together. In the twelfth-century *Romans des Sept Sages* there is an obscure reference to the "art" of Solomon's wife:

Denghien et dart savoit plus seule
Que la femme au roi Constantin,
La salemon, ne la fortin,
Ne la femme artu de bretagne,
Ki tant sot de mal bargaigne.⁶²

Elie de Saint-Gille, in the poem of that name (*ca.* 1175-1200) also remembers how Solomon was deceived by his wife; he repulses Rosamonde with the words:

Salemon si prist feme, dont sovent me remembre:
Par le foi que vous doi, fole cose est de feme!⁶³

⁶⁰ *Li Romans d'Alixandre*, ed. H. Michelant; cf. p. 510, v. 23; v. 35; p. 511, v. 26 f.

⁶¹ Alexander's name is connected with that of a Greek courtesan, Thaïs; he is said to have set fire to Persepolis at her instigation. During his Asiatic campaign A. married Barsiné, sometimes called Statira, the daughter of Darius Codomanus. She was put to death by Roxana, a Bactrian princess, whom he married in 327. After his death, she in her turn, together with her son, was executed by Cassander.

⁶² Ed. H. A. Keller, Tübingen, 1836; cf. vv. 424 ff.

⁶³ *Elie de Saint-Gille*, ed. Raynaud, SATF, vv. 1793 f. For further mention of the hoaxing of Solomon and Samson, cf. *infra*, p. 83.

Either of these poems was early enough to have been known to the author of *Amadas*, though he may have depended on the Solomon and Marcolf legend, which probably gave currency to the story of Solomon's deception at the hands of his wife;⁶⁴ that tale must certainly have been known to the men of the early thirteenth century.

Amadas deals less harshly with Dido, Lucrece, Thisbe, and Julia (?), and with good reason. In *Énéas* Dido is portrayed as a faithful mistress throughout; even in death she remains steadfast in her loyalty, and pardons *Énéas* for his deceit:

Il m'a ocise a mult grant tort,
Ge lui pardoins ici ma mort.

Ne puet parler ne halt ne bas
Forst tant qu'ele nome Eneas.⁶⁵

Concerning Lucrece and Collatinus the poet could have read in the *Fasti* of Ovid, II, 721-852, or in the history of Livy, Lib. I, capp. 57-59.

The story of Pyramus and Thisbe was also well known; not only does Ovid recount the tale of their loves, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 55-166, but it was put into Anglo-Norman verse in the poet's own country,—“Anglo-Normandie.”⁶⁶

As regards Ulie or Julie, however, we are entirely in the dark; the name, so far as the present writer is aware, does not occur in Romance literature.⁶⁷

One sees by this catalogue of famous lovers that the *Amadas* poet had done extensive reading before he attempted to write a love story himself. The experience was valuable to him, for he succeeded in producing a romance which, in spite of some inevitably conventional aspects, was to a large degree original, and, as we have seen, popular in its own time. Having said so much about it in general, we must now say something about the story of *Amadas* and *Ydoine* in particular.

⁶⁴ *Infra*, ch. iv, “The Hoaxed Husband.”

⁶⁵ *Énéas*, vv. 2063, 2117, see also vv. 1197, 1434, 1660, 1739, 1857, 8025, 8083 f.

⁶⁶ Cf. C. De Boer's introduction to his ed. of *Pyramus* in Vol. 12, No. 3 (1911) of the *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*.

⁶⁷ There are several historical Julias of unsavory reputation, such as Julia Domna, Julia, daughter of Augustus, and her daughter Julia.

CHAPTER II

ANALOGUES AND SOURCES

About the last quarter of the thirteenth century one Perot de Neele made a rhymed summary of the romantic material contained in the manuscript now known at the Bibliothèque nationale as MS 375 du fonds français. This epitome has been printed on pp. 284 and following of the writer's edition of *Amadas*.

Perot de Neele's summary is very good, but for the purposes of literary criticism, not good enough. The outline of the story is as follows: Amadas, the son of the seneschal of the Duke of Burgundy, falls in love with Ydoine, the Duke's daughter. At first, because she misunderstands his motives, she haughtily and harshly repulses him, whereupon he falls grievously ill. At length, overcome by pity and fear, Ydoine reciprocates his passion, and sends him out into the world to prove by knightly deeds that he is worthy of her love. While Amadas is absent gaining "pris et los," Ydoine is betrothed to the Count of Nevers. On receiving intelligence of this, Amadas goes mad and is confined in his father's castle. Ydoine, on her part, seeks, by the aid of witchcraft, to prevent the marriage. Failing in this, she so intimidates the Count on the wedding night that then and ever after he leaves her "pucele et pure." It is now Ydoine's turn to languish on account of love. In the meantime Amadas has escaped his bonds and wanders about mad till he comes to rest in the city of Lucca. There Ydoine cures him of his madness and proceeds on her way to Rome. On her return, just before re-entering Lucca, she is forcibly seized and borne away by a strange knight, who, however, seeing the pursuit close at his heels, is obliged to set her down. Now Ydoine becomes really ill and, apparently, dies. Amadas' lamentations for his "amie" in the cemetery are interrupted by the strange knight, with whom he is forced to do battle. The victory being his, the strange knight or "maufé" informs him that Ydoine is not really dead, but only bewitched by him through the agency of a magic ring. Amadas removes the ring and carries his revived lady

back to the hostel. Ydoine decides that she will secure a divorce from the Count so that she may honorably marry Amadas. This is done and the couple "a grant honneur tinrent la terre Toute leur vie ensemble, sans guerre."

It will be observed that this story combines a number of narrative themes, which may be described as follows:¹ 1. Love-distraction and Love-Sickness; 2. Love-madness; 3. Forced Marriage; 4. Witchcraft and Magic; 5. Wedding-night Resistance; 6. The Hoaxed Husband; 7. Divorce; 8. Abduction and Rescue; 9. The Ring of Death; 10. The Squire of Low Degree; 11. The Haughty Lady; 12. The Test of Worth.

1. One of the primary traits of the courtly romances is their delineation of the physical disorders caused in either or both of the lovers by the passion of love. *Énéas* (1160-75) and *Piramus et Tisbé* (1150-1175) contend with Chrétien's *Cligès* (ca. 1170), *Lancelot* (ca. 1172) and *Yvain* (ca. 1173) for the honor of giving us the earliest picture in Romance of the "woeful" lover. Partonopeus and Fergus in the romances named after them (ca. 1188 and 1200-25 respectively) were more or less disordered in their minds on account of love. In the *lai* of *Desiré* and the romance *Athis et Proflias* (both ca. 1200) the lovers actually have to take to bed, so grievous are their ills. The ravages of love-sickness also appear in *Jourdain de Blaivies* (ca. 1200-20) and *Boeve de Haumtone* (ca. 1200-35). About the same date this malady found its way into the *Prose Tristan* (ca. 1226-35) and thence into the *Tavola Ritonda* (ca. 1275?). Richars li Biaus, in the romance of that name (late 13th century), cannot escape its effects. Thus we see that the *Amadas* poet had many models for the love-sickness of his hero and heroine. In fact, the wide use of the motif shows that it had become an accepted literary convention; it is as such that our poet uses it, and the above-named romances will therefore not help us to find a source, or even an analogue, to *Amadas et Ydoine*.

2. With respect to the motif of love-madness, however, the situation is somewhat different; there are not so many instances of amatory frenzy in the literature of Western Europe; according

¹ Named not in the order in which they occur in the story, but in the order in which they are discussed below; number 9 will not be discussed in this chapter. Numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 are discussed in detail in Chapter IV, but from a different point of view. This apparent repetition is unavoidable.

to the writer's belief, there was only one certain instance in French before *Amadas*, namely, that in *Yvain* (ca. 1173). It is true that there are several cases of love-madness in the *Prose Lancelot* (ca. 1214-27) and in the *Prose Tristan* (ca. 1226-35). The latter romance was too late to have influenced *Amadas*, which was composed ca. 1220, and so was the former, unless we accept the earliest date for it. It seems, then, if we neglect the possibility that the motif was independently derived from a Celtic source such as that used by Chrétien, that *Amadas* owes his love-madness to *Yvain*.

3. Forced marriages must have been pretty common under the feudal system,—so common, indeed, that the writers of romance did not consider them worthy of particular development. Mediaeval society assumed that a girl should marry as she was directed and, whether she liked it or not, bear her lot in silence. Still, some cases of protest against an undesired alliance have found their way into the literature of the time. Apparently the earliest of these is Marie's *Milun* (ca. 1165). While her lover Milun is absent on knightly business, the lady's father decides to marry her to a rich man "del païs," just as during *Amadas'* absence the Duke of Burgundy betroths Ydoine to the Count of Nevers.

Milun eissi fors de sa terre
 en soldees pur sun pris querre.
 S'amie remest a maisun.
 Sis pere li duna barun,
 un mult riche hume del païs,
 mult esforcible e de grant pris.
 Quant ele sot cele aventure,
 mult est dolente a desmesure
 e suvent regrete Milun.

Al terme qu'ele fu donee,
 sis sire l'en a amenee.²

Of a slightly different nature is the marriage forced upon Enide in Chrétien's *Erec* (ca. 1168). Erec, overcome by his serious wounds after his fight with the two giants, falls into a swoon; Enide thinks him dead. As she is lamenting over his body,

² Cf. K. Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France*, 2nd ed., vv. 121 ff.

A tant ez vos grant aleüre
 Un conte a grant chevalerie,
 Qui de mout loing avoit oïe
 La dame a haute voiz crïer.

It is Count Oringle of Limors who, because of her beauty and bearing, deems Enide worthy to become his wife. To this proposal she replies:

Sire! fuiiez!
 Por Deu merci, leissiez m'ester!
 Ne poez ci rien conquerer.

But the Count is unable to entertain two ideas at the same time:

Lors ont le chapelain mandé
 Si con li cuens l'ot comandé,
 Et la dame ront amenee;
 Si li ont a force donee;
 Car ele mout le refusa.
 Mes totes voies l'esposa
 Li cuens, qu'einsi feïre li plot.³

Aalis in *Raoul de Cambrai* (ca. 1200-25?) is of a different temper. Raoul, her lord, being dead, Louis wishes to give his lands to a good retainer of his, Gibouin; the latter suggests that Louis add the lady as well. To this Aalis protests forcibly and successfully:

"Diex!" dist la dame, "com puis de duel morir!
 Ains me lairoie ens en .j. feu bruïr
 Que il a viautre face gaingnon gesir!"⁴

Beatrix, in the same *chanson de geste*, is less successful, however. Bernier, her husband, being considered dead, Herchambaut buys her hand from the king with the complaisance of her father. When Beatrix learns of this arrangement,

"Hahi!" dist elle, "pere de pute loi,
 Con m'as traïe et mise en grant beloi!
 Quant me donés marit, ce poise moi.

³ *Erec et Enide*, ed. W. Foerster, 1909, vv. 4676 l.; 4710 f.; 4767 f.

⁴ *Raoul de Cambrai*, ed. Meyer et Longnon, SATF, vv. 331 f.; see also vv. 133-4.

Mais de mon cors jamais joie n'avrois."

"Taisiés vous, dame," ce li a dit li rois.

La dame montent sor .j. mulet anblant;
De Paris issent sens nul delaïement,
Vers Pontif vont bellement chevauchant;
A Aubeville sont venus liement.
Il descendirent el plus haut mandement;
El palais mainnent la dame au cors vaillant;
La fist ces noces molt esforcïement.⁵

But Herchambaut gained little by such methods, as we shall see shortly.⁶

In *Orson de Beauvais* (ca. 1200-50?) we are far removed from any influence of *courtoisie*; the fate of Aceline, Orson's faithful wife, is really tragic. Ugon, the traitor, after selling Orson into a Saracen prison, returns to marry Aceline. Her refusals, accusations, and protestations are in vain; King Charles supports Ugon:

Et Charles fait la dame au moutier amener;
Ens qu'ele fut venue trois fois l'estut pasmer;
Et quant vint au moustier si ne volt creanter,
Ens commança le duc Orson a regrater:
Ou elle veule ou non, ilec li font jurer;
Que vous diroe plus? lai la font esposer,
Et an après l'an font dou moustier ramener.⁷

Ugon also, like Herchambaut, profited little by this forced marriage.

Florence de Rome, in the romance of that name (ca. 1230-50), narrowly escapes an undesired marriage with the old King Garsire of Constantinople; a fierce war is the result of Oton's and Florence's refusal.⁸ It may be that the late *Eledus et Serene* (ca. 1375)⁹ owes something to *Florence*, for in that romance Serene guilefully avoids marrying Maugrier, to whom her father had betrothed her in infancy. The discredited fiancé besieges Tubie,

⁵ Meyer et Longnon, *op. cit.*, vv. 6818, 6825, 6841 f.

⁶ *Infra*, ch. IV, "Wedding-night Resistance."

⁷ *Orson de Beauvais*, ed. G. Paris, SATF, vv. 540 f.

⁸ *Florence de Rome*, ed. A. Wallensköld, SATF.

⁹ Ed. J. R. Reinhard, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1923.

—Serene's capital city,—for many years; Serene is captured, but soon rescued by her legitimate husband, Eledus.

Nicolette¹⁰ and the heroine of the *Vair Palefroi*¹¹ both narrowly escape an undesired marriage. In the late thirteenth century *Chastelaine de Saint-Gille*¹² the heroine is successfully rescued by her "ami" from an undesired marriage with a rich man of low estate. The mother of Fergus is not so fortunate.

Of the examples of forced marriage considered above, *Milun* bears the closest resemblance to the situation in *Amadas*,¹³ and the others little or none. The marriage of Fenice to Alis in *Cligès* can hardly be considered as an example of forced marriage, since Fenice makes no particular objections thereto once she is assured of the innocuousness of those relations. As has already been suggested, it is probably in the actual social conditions of the period, and not in literature, that we shall find the source of this episode.

4. Witchcraft, on the other hand, had an extensive literary history¹⁴ aside from the prevalence in the Middle Ages of a belief in the supernatural.¹⁵ This belief is illustrated by the abundance of magic-workers, male and female, in the literature of the period.¹⁶ Beroul's *Tristan* recounts the abilities of the dwarf-astrologer Frocin. The heroine of Marie's *Dous Amanz* (ca. 1165) has recourse to the services of an aunt skilled in magic lore. The performances of an enchanter in *Floire et Blanceflor* (ca. 1160-85) fail to interest the hero. Melior in *Partonopeus* (ca. 1188) and the Fée de l'Ile d'Or in *Le Bel Inconnu* (ca. 1200) are wonder-workers. The powers of Eracle in the romance of that name (ca. 1165), though ostensibly given by God, are none the less magical. In *Perceval* the Fisher-King is able to assume a variety of forms. Dampnas, in *Clariss et*

¹⁰ *Aucassin et Nicolette*, ed. H. Suchier; cf. no. 32 and no. 38.

¹¹ *Le Vair Palefroi*, ed. A. Långfors; cf. vv. 556 ff.; 1021 ff.; 1243 ff.

¹² Ed. O. Schultz-Gora, *Zwei altfranz. Dichtungen*.

¹³ Like Aceline in *Orson*, Ydoine faints on her way to church. The uncertain date of the former romance will not allow us to assert which poem was indebted to the other, if any indebtedness exists.

¹⁴ *Infra*, ch. IV.

¹⁵ In discussing this subject use has naturally been made of the first part of De la W. B. Easter's *Study of the Magic Elements in the Romans d'Aventure*, and of A. Hertel's *Verzauberte Oertlichkeiten in der altfranz. Dichtung*.

¹⁶ We are not concerned, for the moment, with magic talismans.

et devine et gete sorz	1910	<i>Resusciter la morte gent,</i>	
et le soleil fait resconser		Des vis l'une a l'autre figure	2031
en dreit midi et retorner		Muer par art et par figure;	
tot ariere vers orient;		Houme faire asne devenir.	
de la lune fait ensement,		Et ceus qu'il voelent, endor-	
ele la fait novele o pleine	1915	mir	2034
treis feiz o quatre la semaine,		Et puis songer çou que leur	
et les oisels fait el parler		plaist;	
et l'eue ariere retorner;		Bestes orgener en forest,	
		Murs remuer et trembler	
		tours,	2037
		<i>Et les euvres courre a rebours.</i>	

The similarity between the two poems in these passages is not great; both poets could have encountered plenty of witches in their classical reading.¹⁸ But it will be noted that the *Amadas* poet has attributed to the *Moriæ* the functions of ordinary witches, whether Virgilian, Ovidian, or other. As M. Faral justly observes: "Les textes relatifs aux opérations magiques par lesquelles les sorcières prétendent agir . . . se trouvent en abondance chez les auteurs anciens . . . c'est une raison pour qu'on ne puisse pas savoir s'il [the poet] a pensé à tel ou tel spécialement."¹⁹

In regard to *Fame* (or *Nouvele*) also, both authors are indebted to a classical source:

	<i>Amadas</i>	
Sachiés, signeur, petit et		
grant,		
Qu'en tout cest monde tres-		
passant		6864
N'a nule cose si isnele		
Com est esfreé[e] nouvele.		
Puis que fiere est et		
esfreé[e]		6867
Plus tost trespasse une contree		
Et un país et un regné;		
Ce set on bien de verité,		6770
Que cil qui muet pour porter		
la		
Par soi meïsmes plus tost va		
La nouvele et plus tost		
s'espant		6873

¹⁸ Cf. Ovid, *Metam.*, VII, 159 ff.; *Amores*, I, viii.

¹⁹ E. Faral, *Les Sources latines des contes et romans courtois*, p. 109.

Énéas

Fame est molt merveilleuse
chose

el ne fine ne ne repose,
mil boches a dont el parole,
mil oilz, mil eles dont el vole,
mil oreilles dont ele oreille;
se ele orreit nule merveille,
qu'ele peüst avant noncier,
ele ne fine d'aguaitier;

1545

se de la rien set tant ne quant,
de molt petit fait asez grant,
ele l'acreist et plus et plus;
quant qu'ele vait et sus et jus,
altresi tost fait ele acreire
la false chose com la veire.

1550

Que ne font li oisel volant.

Des c'une grans cose est
forgie

Et un seul poi est essaucie,
Tant c'un petit soit esmeüe 6879

Tantost est par si esandue;
Puis l'acroissent par mains
milliers

Cemins et voies et sentiers, 6882

Par cent et par milliers
oreilles,

Sans nombre langues a
mervelles

Par dire avant et par conter. 6885

A cent mil piés por tost
aler—

Li croissent en mains d'un
seul jor.

Adont s'esmuet par grant
vigor 6888

Et trepe et trote et cort
assés

Tant que mains pais a passés.

En nouvele a estrange oisel: 6891

N'a car ne os, plume ne pel;

Plus a graille le bec devant

Que pointe d'alaisne trencant; 6894

Et puis estrangement en-
groisse,

La teste coevre une paroisse

Et li cors une grant conté, 6897

Et la keue tout un rené.

Mult set langues dont el
parole,

S'a mult eles dont ele vole, 6900

Et plumes de maintes manieres

Dont vole avant et puis
arieres

Et passe les grans mers salees, 6902

Et par pais et par contrees,

Et si s'espant par tout le mont

Tant com il tient, tout a reont. 6906

Selonc c'on tient le fait a
grant,

Selonc ce nouvele s'espant.

Again the two poems bear only a casual resemblance to each other in the passages quoted. It is accepted that the *Énéas* derived from the *Æneid*; but it would seem from a comparison with the following passage that the later romance followed the Latin more closely:

Æneid, IV, 173-188

Ex templo Libyae magnus it Fama per urbes,
Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum:
Mobilitate viget virisque acquirit eundo,
parva metu primo, mox sese attolit in auras
ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.
illam Terra parens ira inritata deorum
extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem
progeniuit *pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis*,
monstrum horrendum, ingens, *cui quot sunt corpore plumae*,
tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),
tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.
nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram
stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno;
luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti
turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes,
tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri.

We conclude, then, that while the *Amadas* poet may have had his eyes on *Énéas*,—but more probably on the *Æneid* for the matter of Fame,²⁰—as regards the three witches, he was indebted, if not to the *Énéas* or the *Æneid*, at least to classical sources.²¹

5. Wedding-night Resistance. Under this head is understood the attempt of a lady, who has been married against her will, to prevent the physical consummation of marriage, either because she hates her husband, or because she wishes to be loyal to another (husband or lover). This is usually accomplished with the aid of a magic talisman, as in *Raoul de Cambrai*, *Orson de Beauvais*, *Enfances Guillaume*, *Boeve de Haumtone*, *Estoire de Merlin* (13th c.), *Charles le Chauve* (14th c.) and *Cligès*. In *Amadas* no magic talisman is employed; it is Ydoine's tears and entreaties, coupled with the Count's recollection of the

²⁰ The portrayal of Fame as a monstrous bird is curious; M. Faral, *op. cit.*, p. 311, note 7, points out that the *Liber Monstrorum* (ed. Haupt, *Opuscula*, II, 221 f.) describes a flying monster which is none other than Virgil's Fama.

²¹ Observe that the usual preparations which a witch makes for her enchantments, as described in the *Æneid*, IV, 501-21, are substituted in *Amadas* by preparations for supper; cf. 2114-2122.

witches' warnings, that preserve her from his unwelcome attentions. This is similar to the situation in the *Chevalier as deus Espees* (ca. 1200-50). But if we neglect the element of magic, and of Fenice's passivity with regard to her marriage with Alis, we see that so far as concerns the prime motives of both Fenice and Ydoine, that is, the preserving of virginity for a favored lover, the situation in *Amadas* is remarkably similar to that in *Cligès*. This brings us to the subject of loyalty in love. In order to observe the similarity of the two poems in this and other respects, it will be expedient to present in parallel columns a brief analysis of both.²²

Cligès

Fenice is very much concerned that people shall not speak ill of the love between her and Cligès; she would rather be torn limb from limb than have it said that their love was like that of Tristan and Iseult. vv. 3145-64; 5259-62. Fenice will grant Cligès no more pleasure than he may take with the eyes so long as she is the accepted wife of Alis. 5263 f.

In order to preserve her virginity for Cligès, Fenice avails herself of a magic potion wherewith to dupe Alis. 3195 f.; 3251-3328; 3369-72.

Fenice says it is really wrong to call her a wife. 5240-48.

As a proof of her love for Cligès, and in order to bring about its consummation, Fenice pretends to be ill and feigns death, aided (unknown to Cligès) by a magic potion. She suffers the brutal treatment of the doctors. 5436 f.; 5696 f.; 5815 f.

Fenice proposes a false burial, and Jehan carries out Cligès' instruc-

Amadas

Throughout the poem Ydoine is very careful of her reputation; she would rather be drawn by horses than yield to base love; vv. 745-749. She will not grant Amadas' prayer till she may do so legally. vv. 6673-6764.

Ydoine will not give herself fully to Amadas till she is divorced from the Count of Nevers. 6676.

In order that she may remain pure for Amadas, Ydoine employs three witches to frighten the count so that he will not avail himself of a husband's rights. She supplemented their work by feigned illness. 2161 f.; 2396 f.

It is by error that Ydoine bears the name of wife. 3510.

Ydoine languishes in illness on account of her love for Amadas. Her love induces her to make a journey into a far country to cure a madman. Love enables her to bear the tortures of her magic death.

Amadas, the host's company, the clergy, and Ydoine's men consider

²² The similarities are illuminating, but not conclusive proof.

tions to that end. Fenice, Cligès, and Jehan know that the burial is false; everyone else thinks it is real.

Fenice's coffin is secretly and artfully constructed.

Cligès rides armed to the cemetery. 6178.

The cemetery is surrounded by a high wall and the coffin is guarded. Cligès comes to remove the body of Fenice; he leaves the coffin empty. 6205 f.

Cligès lifts Fenice out of the tomb, fondles and caresses her.

Cligès knows nothing of the magic potion which Fenice has drunk, and thinks she is dead. 6220 f.

Fenice speaks and tells Cligès that she is not dead, though nearly so.

The effect of the magic potion wears off and Fenice revives fully. Cligès wishes to take Fenice away with him to Britain, but she objects. 5294-5323.

Cligès makes Fenice his mistress while Alis is still alive.

Cligès defends himself and Fenice against the intrusion of a knight into the secret garden.

Cligès and Fenice flee to England to avoid the wrath of Alis.

Fenice remains the mistress of her lover until the death of Alis.

that her death is real and she is buried forever; only the "maufé" knows the truth.

Ydoine's coffin is an ordinary one.

Amadas rides armed to the cemetery. 5421.

The cemetery is surrounded by a high wall; the coffin is *not* guarded. The "maufé" comes to remove the body of Ydoine and supply its place with another body. 5586 f.

Amadas lifts Ydoine out of the tomb, fondles and caresses her.

Before his fight with the "maufé" Amadas knows nothing of the magic ring and thinks Ydoine is dead.

The fairy knight tells Amadas of the magic ring which has caused Ydoine to seem dead.

Amadas removes the magic ring and Ydoine revives.

Amadas is ready to protect and care for Ydoine in any part of the world, but she objects. 6641 f.

Amadas must wait till Ydoine has divorced the Count of Nevers before she will permit him to consummate his love.

Amadas defends himself and the body of Ydoine against the fairy knight who leaps into the cemetery. Amadas and Ydoine return to their respective homes in Burgundy and are welcomed there.

After she has divorced the Count Ydoine and Amadas are happily married.

Of course it can probably never be actually proved that the author of *Amadas* used *Cligès* as a source; but it seems to the present writer that the similarities listed above are too striking to be entirely accidental. We have seen that the poet may have used the *Yvain*; there does not seem to be any good reason for

believing that *Cligès* did not supply him with ideas for other parts of his romance. But it should be noted that he moulds that material to suit his own ideas; whereas the love of Fenice is indubitably *loyal*, that of Ydoine is *pure* as well. This pure love is the *Amadas* poet's contribution to romantic fiction.

6. Not only do some of the heroines of mediaeval romance successfully defend their chastity on the wedding night, some of them continue to maintain it afterwards in their husband's despite, or else share their favors equally with husband and lover. This subject is discussed at greater length in Chapter IV; here our purpose is to discover, if possible, any models for the fierce pudicity of our heroine. Marie's *lais* (ca. 1165) *Equitan*, *Yonec*, and *Laüstic* with its elaboration in *Renard le Contrefait* (close of the 14th c.) do not present such models. In *Lancelot* (ca. 1172), *Tristan* (ca. 1155-70), *Durmart li Galois* (ca. 1225-50) the adultery is more or less generally known; *Flamenca* (ca. 1235), *Chatelain de Coucy* (ca. 1275-1300) and *Li Bastars de Buillon* (ca. 1300) are too late for our reckoning. The nearest analogues seem to be those of Viviane and Merlin in the *Estoire de Merlin*²³ and Fenice and Alis in *Cligès*.²⁴ In both of these romances the husband is completely set aside, as in *Amadas*; but here the analogy ends, for in them the estrangement is accomplished by magical means, whereas in *Amadas* the end is gained rationally, the effect of magic being retroactive and secondary.

7. However bad the actual condition of marriage may have been from the point of view of the mediaeval chatelaine, recourse was seldom had, in the romances at least, to divorce. There were some cases of divorce doubtless dictated by political expediency, such as that of Louis VII from Aliénor of Aquitaine, but in general the idea of divorce was alien to the spirit of the Middle Ages. The noble lord under the rank of royalty had other means of dealing with a refractory or adulterous wife, while his own moral peccadilloes passed almost without notice, and certainly without censure. A fair illustration of what happened in the

²³ Beginning of the 13th c.? Ed. H. O. Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, II, 421. Cf. also *infra*, ch. IV.

²⁴ In the anonymous continuation of the *Perceval* the hoaxing of Caradeus is for three nights only, apparently; cf. vv. 12460 ff.

Middle Ages to a wife who proved unruly is contained in *Orson de Beauvais*:

"Biaul signor," ce dit Hugues, "or oez mon desir :
Issiez fors de Biauvaiz par devers le laris,
Et faites une fosse de dis piés et demi ;
S'i ferai anfoir la putain, la mautris,
Qui m'a anchariïé et si fort mal bailli
Que je ne puis avoir nule joe de li."
Et il firent la fosse, li cer racheteïs ;
Et Hugues li traïtes fait la dame venir
Et gitier an la fosse, jusqu'a cent anfoir,
Puis li fait giter aigue et escucin au vix.
Or oez la vitalle qu'il li livrait et mit :
An trois jors un pain d'orge li donna, ce m'est vix.²⁵

The adulteress was often romantically punished by being forced to eat her lover's heart,²⁶ or else, as *Eracle* informs us, "she was burned and he hanged."²⁷ In this romance, however, *Eracle* persuades Laïs to remit the punishment of Athenais and Parides. He says :

Dites li tant : 'Je vous guerpis.'
Que li voulez vous faire pis ?
Assez a grant dueil a mairier
Qui n'a laisseur de repairier
A tel honeur com ele pert.

The Emperor wisely makes the best of a bad bargain :

"Eracle, amis, ne puet autre estre.
Je pris cesti par main de prestre ;
Si m'en vueil loiaument partir.
.
Touz coureciez et touz mariz
Se depart de l'empereriz
Li emperere, et cil le prent,
Qui pour s'amour de joie esprent."²⁸

Although *Eracle* is not a perfect analogue to *Amadas*,—for in the latter poem there is no question of adultery,—it at least

²⁵ *Orson de Beauvais*, ed. G. Paris, SATF, vv. 845 ff.

²⁶ As in the *Chatelain de Coucy*, Nostradamus' life of Guillem de Cabestanh, *Decameron*, IV. 9, the *lai* of *Guiron*, and elsewhere.

²⁷ *Eracle*, ed. E. Löseth, v. 4923.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, vv. 5040 ff. ; 5074 ff. ; 5096 ff.

shows a precedent for the literary use of divorce. We are inclined to think, however, that if our poet had a source for the divorce of Ydoine from the Count of Nevers, he found it in the political life of the age, and not in literature.

8. Another feature of our romance which may owe something to the actual social and political conditions of the time is the abduction of the heroine. In an age when a lord could bury his wife in a pit up to her waist and shower her with dish-water, he would not, we are inclined to think, hesitate to bear a lady off by force if urged by advantage and necessity to do so. Certain it is that Renaud de Dammartin did not hesitate in 1190 to carry off Ida, Countess of Boulogne. But the abduction in *Amadas*, though it may have had a model in historical fact, is of an entirely literary nature, because of its complication with the fairy knight. The abduction of Guinevere in the *Primitive Lancelot* as represented by *Lanzelet* and *Diu Crône* was doubtless supernatural in nature, as was that of the maid shut up in a tomb by a "deable" in the *Atre Perilos* (ca. 1200-25); the abductor of Gawain's sister in *Hunbaut* (ca. 1225-50) and of Guinevere in *Durmart* (ca. 1225) has a strong supernatural odor about him, though he is entirely human in the late thirteenth century *Chastelaine de Saint-Gille*. None of these poems is presented as a source of *Amadas*, unless it be the *Primitive Lancelot*, about which we know nothing. The hypothesis that our author, here as elsewhere, had at his disposal some Celtic story containing the motif, is at least worth a second thought.

What relation the *Atre* bears to *Amadas*, if any, is difficult to say, since both poems were composed about the second decade of the thirteenth century. The following passages, however, illustrate some points of similarity which may not be entirely fortuitous.

<i>Atre</i>		<i>Amadas</i>	
Si durement s'entrecontrerent	1290	Si se hurtent au trespasser	
Des cevax, des cors, des escus,		De cors et d'escus, ce me sanble,	
K'anbedex sont entrabatus		Et des piés des cevaus ensanble,	
Et ex et les cevax ensanble		Que trestuit quatre a tere vont,	
.		Voellent u non, tot en un	
		mont;	6126
Le deable les saus li vait,	1302	L'estor commencent de rechief,	6138

10. The Squire of Low Degree. There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that a young man should fall in love with a lady who stood above him in the social hierarchy. It seems to have been a theme favored by writers in the Middle Ages as well as in ours. *Eracle* (ca. 1165) tells us that Parides, the son of a senator, brought his love for Athenaïs, the Empress, to a successful conclusion.³⁰ Horn at first resists the advances of Rimenel because he is of apparently humble station. The position of Guillaume de Palerne is likewise ambiguous. Gliglois, in the romance of that name,³¹ is the son of a German noble; as Gawain's squire he falls in love with Beauty, joint heiress (and so of considerably higher station) with her sister of the domain of Landemore. Beauty, though really returning his love, treats him scornfully and harshly, thus, as she later confesses, testing the strength of his passion. Through her good offices he secures the proper knightly equipment, appears at a tournament, and wins the prize falcon. Now Beauty confesses her love, and the two young people are married. The Chatelain de Coucy was a simple knight in love with his lord's wife. Gautier d'Aupais, though really of equal station with his lady, fell in love with her as a serving-man. This conte, ca. 1275-1300, gives evidence of having been imitated in certain respects from *Amadas*. The theme of the humble lover was treated in the excellent Middle English *Squyr of Lowe Degre* (ca. 1400) and *Guy of Warwick* (ca. 1300-25). The last named poem is a version of the Old French *Gui de Warwick*, whose hypothetical date is 1225. Not only is Guy of lower degree,—he is a woeful lover of a scornful lady who sends him out into the world to prove himself worthy of her. These resemblances (and others) to *Amadas* will be seen in the following parallel passages. Though there are a number of manuscripts of the French *Gui*, none of them has ever been edited;³² Mr. Herbert, however, has printed portions of the Old French;³³ so far as his extracts serve our purpose they are

³⁰ *Eracle*, ed. E. Löseth, vv. 3481 f.

³¹ Of which an edition has been prepared for the Harvard Romance Series by Prof. C. H. Livingston. I have seen Foerster's copy of the original MS, but am here indebted to the analysis given by J. D. Bruce in his *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*.

³² An edition of *Gui de Warwick* is in preparation by Professor C. H. Livingston.

³³ *Romania*, XXXV (1906), 74 ff.

quoted below; the gaps have been supplied from the Middle English *Guy*.⁸⁴ In the English version the lord is an earl; in the French he is a count.⁸⁵

After the usual prologue of about twenty-five lines, both poets introduce the characters of their story.

Gui de Warwick (MS Edwardes)

En Engleterre uns coens esteit 27
En warewic la cite maneit.
Riches ert et de grant poeir,
Cointes et sages, bon chevalier; 30
Riches ert d'or et d'argent,
De dras de seie, de veisselement,
De forz chastels, de riches citez; 33
Par tut le regne ert mult dotez.
N'aveit home en tote la tere
Ki vers lui osast prendre guere 36
Que par force nel preist
E en sa chartre le meist.

Une fille avoit de sa mollier, 51
Sa grant belte ne puis cunter,
Pur la plus bele l'unt choisie.
Ore est raisun que l'um vus die 54
Un petitet de sa grant belte:
Le vis out blanc e colure,
Long e traitiz e avenant, 57
Bele buche e nes ben seant,
Les oilz veirs e le chef bloi,
De lui veer vus semblast poi; 60
Bien faite de cors, de bel estature,
Tant par ad dulce la regardure;
Curteise ert e enseigne 63

Mult par ert fere de corage 69
Pur ço qu'ele ert tant sage;

Amadas

Vous di que ja fu en Bourgogne 24
Uns dus de mult noble parage:
A grant hounour maintint barnage,
Prouece, largece et bonté. 27
Il n'ot au jour si renoumé,
Mien ensient, un tout seul homme,
Se rois ne fu, juskes a Roume. 30
Tuit si proçain, tuit si voisin
Estoient tuit a lui enclin,
Que par amor, ke par doutanche, 33
Car mult estoit de grant poissance.

De sa feme une fille avoit
Qui mult estoit et gent et bele.
N'ot si renoumee pucele
Decha les mons de grant biauté, 129
De francise ne de bonté
Le chief ot bel et bien reont,
La greve droite et blanc le
front, 132
Et deliés et blons les crins,
Plus reluisans que n'est ors fins;
Mult les avoit et biaux et lons: 135
Aval li toucent as talons.
Le vis ot blanc et bien traitis,
Et les eux vairs et signouris, 138
Douc le regart et simple et sage,

D'amour si sourquidie estoit,
Et si fiere et si orgilleuse, 177
Vers tous houmes si desdaigneuse,
Qu'el ne prisoit en son corage,
Pour biauté ne pour vasselage, 180
Nul houme u monde por rikece,
Pour parenté ne pour hautece,

⁸⁴ Ed. J. Zupitza, EETS.

⁸⁵ Only about the first 450 lines deal with Guy's love affair; the remainder of the English poem, something over 11,000 lines, recounts Guy's adventures.

		Qui regart li fesist de l'oel ;	183
		Mult par estoit de grant orguel.	
Dux e cuntes la requereient,		Requis ent l'avoient pluisour,	
De multes teres pur lui veneient, 72		Mais ainc n'i vaut metre s'amor ;	186
Mais nuls d'els amer ne voleit		Onques ne vaut par drüerie	
Pur ço que tant noble esteit.		Avoir ami ne estre amie ;	
		En despit avoit tous amans	189
		La pucele preus et vaillans.	
Felice fud la bele apelee ;	75	Ne cuic qu'a cel jour fust	
Pur sa belte fud mult amee.		trouvee	165
		Pucele ou monde plus loee.	
De totes beltez ert ele la flur,		Noumee fu par non Ydoine.	
Tant bele ne fud a icel jur.	78	Je ne cuic jusqu' en Babiloine	168
Ki totes teres dunques cerchast		Fust plus bele dame seüe	
Une tant bele n'i trovast.		Ne d'uel de chevalier veüe	
Ki tote sa belte contereit	81		
Trop grant demorance i freit.			
De la pucele larrum ester,			
Del seneschal voldrum parler,	84	Cil dus avoit un senescal	
Ki mult ert corteis e sage—		Preu et vaillant et mult loial ;	36
		N'ot si vaillant houme u pais,	
A man he was of grete myght,	85	Fors seul le duc, ce m'est avis ;	
In hys tyme there was no knyght		Sages en pais et fors en guerre,	39
Of armes or of strenkyth of honde		De fors castiaus, de rice terre,	
That bare soche pryse in all that		Estoit rices et noble ber :	
londe.			
He helde all hys lordys londe	101	Bourgongne ot toute a	
Wyth grete honowre undur hys		gouverner.	42
honde.			
That ylke stewarde had a sone	110	De sa moullier un fil avoit . . .	53
A feyrer may no man knowe		Ne fust en nul pais trouvés	
Nodur of hye nor of lowe.		Un damoisiaus de sa biautés	60
Curtes he was and wyse of lore,		Humles ert mult et amiavles,	69
And wel belouyd with lesse and		Frans et courtois et serviçavles,	
more.		Et mult amés de chevaliers,	
In all that londe was none hym like.			
Ther was nodur squyer nor			
knyght	125		
But they hym louyd wyth all ther		Car tous les servoit volentiers.	72
myght,		Trestuit l'amerent et joïrent,	
An he them gafe gyftes wythall		Et sour toutes biens le chierirent.	

So that he was louyd of all.

Feyre he was and bryght of face	131	Biaus ert et alignés et grans; De cors, de vis et de faiture Ot en lui bele creature.	63
Hende he was and mylde of mode,	135	De tous deduis, de chiens, d'oisiaus Fu si apris li damoisiaus	66
All men spoke of hym grete gode.		Que nus avant lui n'en savoit.	
At Whytsontyde felle a daye As y yow telle maye,		A un haut jour issi avint Que li dus une feste tint	192
The Erle made a grete feste	145	A son rice castel Dijon.	
Of lordys of that londe honeste:		Venu i sont tuit li baron	
Knyghtys, erlys and barons		De la contree et du país.	195
Come thedur fro many townes. . . .			

At this feast Guy and his father serve the Earl (Count) as Amadas and the seneschal serve the Duke at Dijon.

The Erle clepyd Gye anon:	155	Li dus l'apela a droiture:	
(A sylke gowne he had uppon)		Le mes li commande a porter	212
He bade hym to the chambur styll		Sa bele fille et presenter,	
And serve hys doghtur at hur wylle.		Qui tint a une part sa feste Com pucele de haute geste.	216
Gye ouyr all louyde Felyce	185	Li saut au cuer une estincele	244
The Erllys doghtur wyth the feyre vyce.		Qui de fine amor l'a espris;	

Both Guy and Amadas declare their passion, but are scornfully repulsed by their ladies.

The mayde lokyd full grymme	219	Irie est mult en son corage	509
And wele wrothely answeryd hym:			
Who made the so folhardye	222	Dont te vient si grans derverie	
For to assaye me of love?		Et tes rage com as ou cuer,	528
		Comment osas tu, a nul foer, Si grant outrage descouvrir?	

Felice threatens Guy with the gibbet. Amadas, having lain ill for a year, again pleads his case with Ydoine. More incensed than ever, she promises to have him beaten by her servants if he does not desist from asking her love.

Be Iesu that sytteth above, 224
 And y thys my fathur telle unto,
 For thys worde he wyll the sloo,
 Soone that thou schalt be drawe,
 On galowse hangyd and that is
 lawe.
 Of grete folye thou the bethoght,
 When thou me of love besoght. 230

Wende hens owt of my syght, 233
 Or thou schalt dye, my trowthe
 [y plyght.

Mais que doi [a] l'ame mon pere 756
 Ne a la duchoise ma mere,
 Se mais t'avient iceste rage
 Que me requieres de folage, 759
 Tant te ferai batre a mes sers
 Que tourneras le ventre envers.

Se ne t'en fuis, leciere, hors, 762
 Maintenant ert honis tes cors.

Guy does not wish to live if he may not have his lady; Amadas is weary of life without the love of Ydoine. In a last attempt, however, both lovers find pity in their lady's heart.

Felyce on Gye began to loke 353 Ses bras souef au col li lace 1151
 And in hur armes hym up toke. Et par mult grant amor l'enbrace.

Felice will not give Guy her love till he has proved himself a valorous knight. Ydoine confesses her love for Amadas, but she tells him that for the sake of her honor he must prove his worth in chivalric adventure, as is becoming to a youth of his estate.

'Gye,' sche seyde, 'be nowe
 style. 355
 Here me yf hyt be yowre wylle.
 Knyghtys and erlys y forsake,
 That wolde me to wyfe take.

And y loued now a yong knave,
 How schulde y my worschyp
 save? 360

When thou art dubbed a knyght
 And proved wel in every fyght,
 Then, for sothe, hyght y the,
 That thou schalt have the love of
 me. 365
 Goo and do thy chevalyre
 Then thou schalt lye me bye:
 And at thy wylle my body schall be.'

Or vous otroi toute m'amor; 1224
 Par tel convent com vous dirai
 Sour tous homes vous amerai.

Ne n'amerai jamais nul houte 1257
 Autre que vous, ce est la soume.
 Si soiés tex, biaux dous amis,
 Si vaillans et de [si] haut pris 1260
 Que save i soit l'amour de moi.

Et au plus tost que vous
 porrés 1243
 D'armes avoir, les requerés

Puis si errés de terre en terre
 Vostre pris pourcachier et
 querre. 1250

Si vous serai loiaus amie
 A tous les jours mais de ma
 vie. 1254

Guy receives arms and goes forth to fulfill his lady's commands. Amadas is knighted by the Duke and also goes forth to try his valor.

A detail of striking similarity in the two poems is that of love-sickness; it was of no more avail to send for a physician in Guy's case than in that of Amadas.

The lechys cowde helpe hym noght:	265	Ne l'esteüst en autre terre Autre mire mander ne querre De Montpellier ne de Salerne, Car sa douleur toute gouverne La damoisele et son delit.	318
To Iesu they have hym betaght			

Points in the following passages present further analogies between the two romances. When Guy returns from "doing his chivalry" he offers Felice his love. Ydoine, after her divorce from the Count of Nevers, waits for Amadas, giving no encouragement to other suitors.

<i>Gui de Warwick</i> (Cambridge fragment)		<i>Amadas</i>	
"Amis," fet ele, "vostre merci,	45	Ydoine est o le duc son pere, Et o la ducoise sa mere.	7452
E jo verraiement vus di		Bien se contient com noble dame.	
Que mult requis ai este		Puis k'est espandue la fame,	
Des plus riches del regne	48	Rice hom et haut, de grant valor,	7455
Mais nul d'eus amer ne voloie,		Quant partie est de son signour,	
Ne a nul jor mes ne feroie.		Au duc de Borgoigne la roevent,	
A vous me doins et si m'otroi;	51	Mais nul sanla[n]t en li ne troevent.	
Vostre plaisir faites de moi."			
Lui quoens un jour sa fillie apele:		Quant li dus la met a raison	
"Felice," fet il, "fillie bele,		De ce qu'ele prenge baron,	
Pur Deu, car pernez baron;		[cf. vv. 7567-69]	
Nous n'avom eir si vus nun.	60		
Dux e cuntes vus unt requis.			
Que venuz sunt de autre país;			
Nul d'eus ne volez prendre.	63		
Cumben volez vus atendre?"			
"Sire," fet ele, "jo en penserai,			
Deci que al terz jor vus dirrai."	66		
Cum il avint al tierz jor			
Lui quoens apele par amor			
Sa fillie que tant par est sage:	69		
"Dites moi," fet il, "tun corage."			
"Sire," fet ele, "jo vus dirrai		Ele respont: "Biau sire ciers,	7461

Cum en mun quor purpense ai.	72	Je le prendrai mult volentiers, Et cel dont vous avrés honeur.	
Ne vus en peist si jo le vus di, Beau duz sire, jo vus pri :			
Ceo est Gui, vostre chivaler,	75	Bien otroi c' Amadas me	
En le monde ne ad, ceo croi, sun pere.		prenge }	7571
Si jo certes lui n'en ai,		Sans contredit et sans calenge, Car deseur tous amer le doi.	
James autre n'en amerai."	78	Jamais n'avrai autre signor Tant com je vive un tot seul jor."	7692

The Count discovers Guy's opinion on the matter. The Duke sends for Amadas. Both lords bring up the matter of the succession.

"Gui," fet il, "ore entendez.		"Oés, sire quens Amadas, . . .	7726
Une fillie ai, cum vus savez ;		Une fille ai, je n'ai plus	
Autre eir n'en ai si lui nun ;	105	d'oir ; . . .	7732
Grant terre l'atent ci environ.		Bourgongne après ma mort avra	
Jo la vus doins, si la pernez,		Cius qui a feme Ydoine	
De toute ma terre sire soiez."	108	avra. . . .	7734
"Sire," fet Gui, "vostre merci.		Ma fille bien douner vous	
Grant honur me mustrez ci."		doi, . . .	7751
		Toute Bourgongne vous	
		lairai ; . . .	7770
		"Sire," fait il, "vostre	
		merci . . .	7777
		Mult par me faites grant honur	
		Quant vous a si tresgrant honur	
		Me dounés ma dame a mollier.	7785

From the passages quoted above it appears that *Gui de Warwick* and *Amadas et Ydoine* are similar in the following respects: A youth of humble social station falls in love with the daughter of his lord; the lady scornfully repulses his advances (in the former because the aspirant is of low rank, in the latter because the lady is by nature scornful of love). As a result of this harsh treatment the youth languishes in love-sickness for which there is no cure save the grace of his lady. The lover pleads his cause for a last time, saying that he expects nothing but death. The lady is moved to pity and accords him her love on condition that he render himself worthy thereof by the performance of knightly deeds. When, after many untoward adventures, the condition has been fulfilled and the lover has risen in rank and estate, the

two lovers are united in happy marriage and the youth succeeds his father-in-law in the title.

These similarities, by their nature and their number, seem other than fortuitous. It cannot be stated which poem was the source of the other till the date of *Gui* has been fixed with greater precision. Probably *Gui* is the later romance.

11. Our examination of *Gui de Warwick* has brought to light two other themes treated in *Amadas*, namely The Haughty Lady and The Test of Worth. One is tempted to ascribe the Haughty Lady to Provençal lyric poetry; if this is so, she would not appear in the earlier romances of the north. Iseult is not a haughty lady: she is merely disinclined to love either the wicked seneschal or King Marc. The case is different in *Ipomedon* (ca. 1185), for here the lady was so haughty that she was known as "La Fiere de Calabre." In *Blancandin* (ca. 1220?) she is known as "L'Orgueilleuse d'Amour." We have seen that the heroines of *Gligois* and of the *Chatelain de Coucy* were likewise disdainful of love. Could any of these have served as a model for Ydoine? None of the romances named is early enough for that purpose except *Ipomedon*. But we have seen that our poet knew the romances of Chrétien, particularly *Cligès*; in that romance we find an excellent example, in Soredamors, of the haughty lady:

Soredamors,
Qui desdeigneuse estoit d'amors.
Onques n'avoit oï parler
D'ome, qu'ele deignast amer,
Tant eüst *biauté ne proesce*,
Ne seignorie *ne hautesce*.³⁶

When these lines are compared with the following from *Amadas*,

D'amour si sourquidie estoit,	
Et si fiere et si orgilleuse,	177
Vers tous homes si desdaigneuse	
Qu'el ne prisoit en son corage,	
Por <i>biauté ne por vasselage</i> ,	180
Nul houte u monde, pour rikece,	
Pour parenté <i>ne pour hautesce</i> ,	
Qui regart li fesist de l'oel—	183

the source of Ydoine's "dangier" is no longer questionable.

³⁶ *Cligès*, ed. Foerster, vv. 445 ff.

12. It remains to speak of the Test of Worth. This theme is closely connected with the Haughty Lady and the Squire of Low Degree. Both Ydoine and Felice make it plain that it would not be fitting for them, as high-born ladies, to marry "a yong knave." For the honor of the lady he loves, the young man must achieve for himself by valorous deeds a higher and more estimable place in the social scale. In some cases the youth embarks upon his adventures of his own free will, as in *Horn*, or is indirectly incited thereto, as in *Durmart*. But in *Ipomedon*, *Yder* (ca. 1220), *Gui de Warwick*, and *Squyr of Lowe Degre*, the lady has to exhort the young knight to do his duty. In *Meraugis de Portlesgue* Lidoine tells Meraugis that she will not marry him till he has proved himself worthy of her for a year. We saw that the heroine of *Gliglois* put her lover to a different kind of test at first, though he proved himself in arms later as well. The injunctions of the lady in *Le Chevalier a le Mance* (ca. 1325) have an embarrassing result for her. The convention is used in two other English romances, *Torrent of Portyngale* and *King Horn*, as well as in the fifteenth-century French prose *Cleriadus*.

Probably undue importance should not be attached to this element in our romance; it appears to have been a literary convention, and was apparently so used by the poet; his romance seems to have been one of the sources for the motif in later romantic fiction.

In Amadas' list of betrayed lovers we find the names of Tristan (v. 5833) and Iseult (v. 5835); these lovers are also mentioned elsewhere in the poem (vv. 340 f.; 1187; 2886). There does not seem to be anything extraordinary in this; the author of a love romance could hardly fail to mention the two most famous lovers of the Middle Ages. But does *Amadas* show a real indebtedness to *Tristan*? In 1901 Gaston Paris remarked: "L'auteur d'*Amadas*, qui nomme plusieurs fois Tristan et Iseult, les connaissait sans doute par le poème de Thomas; son prologue paraît imité du délicieux épilogue du *Tristan*."³⁷ Of the propriety of this statement the reader may judge for himself by comparing the following passages:

³⁷ *Mélanges de littérature française du Moyen Age*, p. 334, n. 2.

Tristan

Tumas fine ci sun escrit:
 A tuz amanz saluz i dit,
 As pensis e as amerus,
 As emvius, as desirus,
 As enveisiez e as purvers,
 A tuz cels ki orunt ces vers.
 Si dit n'ai a tuz lor voleir,
 Le milz ai dit a mun poeir,
 E dit ai tute la verur,
 Si cum jo pramis al primur.
 E diz e vers i ai retrait:
 Pur essemple l'ai issi fait
 E pur l'estorie embelir,
 Que as amanz deive plaisir,
 E que par lieus poissent trover
 Chose u se puissent recorder:
 Avoir em poissent grant confort,
 Encuntre change, encountre tort,
 Encuntre paine, encuntre plur,
 Encuntre tuiz engins d'amur!³⁸

Amadas

Communalment vous qui avés
 Amé, et vous qui ore amés,
 Et trestuit chil qui ameront, 3
 Qui esperance d'amer ont—
 Vous qui avés oï d'amours
 Selonc le conte des auctours, 6
 Et en latin et en roumans
 Des le tans as premiers amans,
 Se vous me volés escouter, 9
 D'un amant vous voel raconter,
 Et d'une amante ki ama
 Mult loialment tant cum dura. 12
 Dire vous voel com il avint
 A cheus qu'Amors ensemble tint
 Toute leur vie sans trichier, 15
 Sans vilenie et sans dangier.
 En cest affaire, en ceste amour
 N'avint onques fors grant
 ennour, 18
 Et de deus pars grant loialté
 A tous les jours de leur aé.

The evidence does not seem to the present writer to be convincing. The intention confessed by Thomas is quite different from the thesis expressed in the last eight lines of *Amadas*. On this matter we shall have something further to say in Chapter VI.

To recapitulate, *Amadas et Ydoine* seems to show the following indebtedness: To *Énéas* for some of the conventions of courtly love, such as love-languishment; for Fame and the three witches,—though these may have had a direct classical source. To *Yvain* for Fame and particularly for love-madness, unless for the latter the *Amadas* poet used a source identical with or similar to Chrétien's source for this motif. To *Eracle* for the idea of divorce, for love-languishment, and perhaps for lovers' soliloquies, though for the latter Chrétien is the great model. To *Cligès* for wedding-night resistance, the hoaxed husband, witchcraft, the magic talisman producing false death, for the haughty lady, and perhaps for the idea of a lady married to one other than her favored lover. Some of these themes, such as love-sickness and the haughty lady,

³⁸ *Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas*, ed. J. Bédier, SATF, vv. 3125 ff.

together with the squire of low degree and the test of worth, appear also in *Gui de Warwick*. There is no obvious indebtedness to *Tristan*; but the undoubted influence of this romance, as well as the further influence of *Cligès* can be seen in our author's purpose; this matter will be discussed in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER III

MEDIAEVAL CONVENTIONS

1. *Courtly Conventions*

Ne sont que trois matieres a nul home entendant,
De France et de Bretaigne et de Rome la grant.¹

Thus did Jean Bodel of Arras classify French literature at the close of the twelfth century. After the turn of the thirteenth century, however, a fourth type of literature made its appearance, a type which grew out of and was based on (a) the national songs of France, (b) the Arthurian matter of Britain, and (c) the exploits of heroes in strange lands. This was the *roman d'aventure*, a literary expression of the political and social phenomena of feudalism and chivalry. The new *genre* took its place beside the "trois matieres" of Jean Bodel.

dean
But as chivalry developed into lady-worship—in literature at least—under the dual influence of the amiable Aliénor of Aquitaine and her daughter, Marie de Champagne, the *roman d'aventure* achieved a new complexion. This new *roman* was not merely a tale of knightly adventure—it was also a tale of love. In fact, love, the courtly love of the troubadours and of André le Chape-lain, was the *fons et origo* of the adventures. Since this type of romance was handled by poets of various temperaments, it inevitably happened that the greater stress was placed, as seemed best to the poet, on one or other of the two component elements—either on adventures, as in *Gui de Warwick*, or on love, as in *Amadas et Ydoine*.

It will be observed, too, that each poet dealt with the question of love according to a certain bias, personal or social: *Tristan* shows love as an irresistible passion; in Chrétien's *Lancelot* we see how love is the author of those prime knightly qualities, *proesce* and *corteisie*. Chrétien, the great exemplar of courtly love, established the vogue of that artificial passion, and few were

¹ *La Chanson des Saisnes*, ed. F. Michel, Paris, 1839, vv. 6-7.

rash enough to depart from the model he and his patroness had set up.

It is to the type of romance dealing primarily with love rather than with adventure that *Amadas et Ydoine* belongs. Its ideal, however, is not courtly love, but pure love—a direct antithesis; but in spite of this fact, the author does not break away entirely from the literary conventions of courtly love. There is no reason why he should break away, even if he had been able to do so, for these conventions serve perfectly to develop his thesis and do not in any way interfere with the spirit thereof. To what degree he followed courtly conventions, and to what degree he departed from them, will appear below. First, however, it will be necessary to attempt a reconstruction of the system of courtly love in accordance with whose tenets the typical mediaeval poet composed his works.

The stronghold of courtly love in the north of France was Champagne, and more precisely, Troyes. Marie, Countess of Champagne, constituted herself arbitress of love as well as of land and gave equally meticulous judgments on one and the other. More than this, she spread her faith by means of the written word in the poems of Chrétien de Troyes. Chrétien was the propagandist *par excellence* of courtly love. The chief of his works which dealt with this matter—*Erec*, *Lancelot*, *Cligès*, and *Yvain*—were composed between 1150 and 1175. Soon after this latter date—between 1176 and 1200—André le Chapelain wrote a dissertation on the question, and embodied the codified results of his investigations in a book known as the *Flos amoris* or the *De arte honeste amandi*. With the aid of the works of Chrétien and André it will be possible to evolve a body of courtly-love precepts which may have served as a guide for the poet of *Amadas et Ydoine*.

According to the troubadours, the relation between lover and lady was modeled on the feudal system; the lover knelt¹¹ before his lady, put his hands between hers and swore homage and allegiance. If, in Chrétien, the pattern of lord and vassal is not so strictly followed, still, love must lodge in a noble place (*Yvain*, 1386 ff.); the accepted lover ought to be at least a knight, or, at worst, a man who displays nobility of character and action. In order to illustrate the character of the accepted

lover, a short consideration of the knight as he was supposed to be and as he was in the Middle Ages may not be out of place.

Chivalry had its beginnings in feudalism. The feudal system itself was the outgrowth of the necessity of the lower classes for protection, and of the higher classes for aid during periods of war and turbulence. In this system, it was the duty of the vassal, kneeling with his hands between those of his lord, to swear to aid his suzerain in war against his enemies, to counsel him in need, and to make certain money payments. The lord, on his part, was bound by the vassal's oath of fealty to protect him against violence and rapine. It was this second part of the twofold obligation that the Church, at a certain period, seized upon, and modified, for a time, to suit its own purposes: Fealty between man and man was given the color of man's fealty to God and the Church; in its practice the former assumed some of the qualities of the latter, such as courtesy, solicitude, and pity. In the course of the centuries, Chivalry became an Order to which were admitted only those who took oath to perform certain specified duties: (1) Valor was the prime requisite in the knight whose duty it was to protect the weak. (2) Fair-play between peers was almost as necessary as was (3) generosity (*largesse*) to inferiors. These elements were essential in the order of chivalry before Christianity introduced (4) humility and (5) courtesy in deportment, as well as (6) charity towards one's neighbor; while (7) orthodox faith and (8) obedience to the Church became the *sine qua non* of a perfect knight.² If we turn to the literature of the period, we find the Damsel of the Lake expatiating at length on the origin of knighthood, the meaning thereof, and the duties of a knight toward society.³ Likewise, she thoroughly instructs Lancelot as to the virtues a knight should have:

Au commencement quant li ordres de cheualerie commencha fu devise a chelui qui voloit estre cheualiers & qui le don en auoit par droite election quil fust piteus sans vilenie . debonaire sans felony . piteus enuers les souffra(i)tes & larges. Et appareillies de secoure les besoigneus pres & appareillies de confondre les robeors & les ochians. Drois iugiers sans amour & sans haine & sans amor daidier au tort por le droit greuer

² Cf. H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, I, chs. xxiii-xxiv.

³ Cf. H. O. Sommer, *Le Livre de Lancelot del Lac*, I, p. 114.

& sans haine de nuire au droit por traire le tort auant. Cheualiers ne doit por paor de mort nule cose faire ou len puisse honte connoistre ne apercevoir. Ains doit plus douter honteuse cose que mort a souffrir.

Cheualiers doit auoir .ij. cuers, lun dur & serei autresi com aimant & lautre mol & ploiant autresi com cyre caude. Chil qui est durs com aymans doit estre encontre les desloiaus & les felons . . . Et autresi com la cyre mol & caude puet estre flequie & menee la ou on la veut mener . autresi doiuent les boines gens & les pitex mener le cheualier a tous pouns qui aparitenent a debona(i)rete a douchor . . .⁴

This is indeed good counsel, but alas! few were the chevaliers who followed it, as the history of the Middle Ages amply attests.⁵ Instead of protecting the weak against robbers, the knights of real life were more often robbers themselves. It is largely in the literature of the period that we must look for the *ideal* knight, where, as in real life, the evil knight often keeps him company. But if the *chansons de geste* and the romances are often full of extravagant imagination, they are also founded on actual facts, as a comparison of the life they portray with that set forth in the sober chronicles will show. If this fact is borne in mind, there will be no danger in accepting Chrétien's literary knight as a fair, if enlarged, picture of the actual.

Largesce alone, says Chrétien (*Cligès*, 201 ff.), makes a "prodhome":

Ce que ne puet feire hautesce,
Ne corteisie ne savoirs,
Ne jantillesce ne avoires,
Ne force ne chevalerie,
Ne hardemanz ne seignorie,
Ne biautez ne nule autre chose.

Here he takes pains to enumerate, from a somewhat biased point of view, some of the other general qualities of a knight. As an author and a poët he everywhere—and particularly in *Lancelot*—affirms that these qualities, and others that constitute real knightly perfection, can be achieved only in and by love and service of ladies.

⁴ Sommer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 114, 115-116. What virtues were ascribed to knights and what qualities to the order of chivalry by the people of the Middle Ages appears excellently in *L'Ordene de Chevalerie*, cf. Barbazon-Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes*, I, pp. 59 ff.

⁵ Cf. R. Rosières, *La Société française au moyen âge*, I, ch. iii; A. Luchaire, *La Société française au temps de Philippe-Auguste*, ch. viii.

More specifically, if not more dogmatically, André le Chapelain maintains the same thesis: "XVIII. Probitas sola quemque dignum facit amore."⁶ But Chrétien illustrates the dictum: "N'est mie prodon qui trop dote," says Lunette (*Yvain*, 997). According to every law of love it is quite right for Fenice "qu'ele le (Cligès) prist por sa proesce" (*Cligès*, 2919). But praise for prowess can not be won, says Yvain (5095 ff.) by following a life of ease; indeed,

Maint haut hom par lor peresce
Perdent grant los, que il porroient
Avoir se par le monde erroient.^{6a}

Alexander (*Cligès*, vv. 154 ff., 161-162) remarks that

Proesce est fes a mauves home
Et as preuz est mauvestiez some.

The mere *desire* for fame in arms is evidence of knightly virtue.

But a perfect knight must have other virtues in addition to valor: He is courteous (*Cligès*, 153; *Lancelot*, 705, 2999; *Yvain*, 265, 1293), brave, generous and honorable (*Yvain*, 21; *Cligès*, 184); he even gives way before another (*Yvain*, 6254-6364). A knight is loyal (*Cligès*, 2639) and anxious to preserve his honor (*Cligès*, 2673, 2698); he is modest (*Cligès*, 5016) and not evilly proud (*Yvain*, 3983). A good knight must be able to keep his temper (*Lancelot*, 1605) and to forgive those who show him any discourtesy (*Yvain*, 5789); nor will a true knight take bribe or wrongful reward (*Yvain*, 4053), for it is his duty to rescue the forlorn (*Lancelot*, 1311); indeed, he would rather fight than do any wrong (*Lancelot*, 2660). Above all, a knight's promise, especially to his lady, is inviolable (*Lancelot*, 1067, 1220).

As to the qualities a knight should not have, Bademagu tells a few of them to his son, and Meleagant sufficiently illustrates them in his character (*Lancelot*, 3222 ff.)

In these, Love's precepts for behavior, Ydoine instructs Amadas and grants him her love on the condition that he fulfill them. Says she:

⁶ Andreae Capellani *De Amore*, ed. E. Trojel, Havniæ, 1892, p. 311.

^{6a} *Amadas* repeats this sentiment in vv. 6479 f.

Or vous otroi toute m'amour; 1224
 Par tel convent com vous dirai,
 Sour tous homes vous amerai.
 Or vous penés d'estre amiables,
 Et enseigniés et serviçables, 1228
 Frans et courtois a toute gent
 Et preus et larges ensement,
 Dous et gentix a acointier,
 Ne ja n'amés faus losengier. 1232
 Orguel, sourfait ne desmesure
 Ne faites ja, n'en aiiés cure;
 Laissiés trestoute vilounie,
 Encriemeté, toute estoutie; 1236
 Soiiés de haut cuer et de sage,
 Car mult estes de haut parage.

It will be noted that Ydoine has added something new to Chrétien's conception of a good knight. But she is not yet through with her injunctions:

Puis si errés de terre en terre
 Vostre pris pourcachier et querre. 1250
 Larges soiiés et frans et prous:
 Li vostres soit dounés a tous.

 Si soiiés tex, biaux dous amis, 1259
 Si vaillans et de [si] haut pris
 Que sauve i soit l'amour de moi.⁷

The three lines last quoted introduce a matter that was the constant care of Ydoine as well as of many another mediaeval lady.⁸ Once the lady granted her love, it was incumbent upon the knight to prove himself *worthy* of it. This he usually did by absenting himself for from three to seven years in order to win praise and fame for the sake of his lady.⁹

Not only must the lady's good fame be preserved by the nobility of the lover, but care must be taken that her reputation be not spotted by the slanders of evil tongues. When Amadas lies in a faint at her feet, Ydoine thinks that she will have very

⁷ Cf. Amour's instructions to Amant in the *Roman de la Rose*, vv. 2110 ff.; W. A. Neilson, *The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, ([Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, VI), pp. 168-212.

⁸ Cf. La Dame de Fayel in the *Chatelain de Couci*.

⁹ *Vide infra*, p. 63.

evil fame if he is discovered there (vv. 1081 ff.); when she herself faints in the hotel at Lucca, she takes good care to conceal the cause from the people (vv. 3212 ff.), and she keeps up the deception by continuing the journey to Rome so that no one shall suspect that there is anything extraordinary between her and Amadas (vv. 3876 ff.).

Chrétien's predilection for a *noble* lover has already been noticed (*Yvain*, 1386 ff.). He refers to the matter again in *Cligès* (vv. 2972 ff.): Fenice rejoices that Love has caused her to incline to "Le plus cortois et le plus preu." She is as careful about her reputation as is Ydoine; she does not want her name and that of Cligès to be coupled with those of Tristan and Iseult in the mouths of the people (vv. 3145 ff., 5260, 5309 ff.). She thinks that if their affair is carefully handled they need never have blame on account of it (vv. 5361).

It may be said that secrecy was the prime tenet of the system of courtly love; extra-marital as it was, common sense demanded that the love be concealed. But eventually the rational necessity for the fact was forgotten, and secrecy imposed its commands in situations where there was no obvious reason for it. Lovers ordinarily suffer the pangs of their passion a long time before divulging it even to each other, for had not André said: "II. Qui non celat, amare non potest"? and "XIII. Amor raro consuevit durare vulgatus." Certainly, Alexander and Cligès suffer in silence for a long time, and Amadas follows their example.

Ja n'iert seü ce que je vuel,

says Alexander (*Cligès*, 633), nor does Amadas (vv. 375-76) wish

. . . son conseil descouvrir
A estrange ne a privé.

The matter of secrecy was carried to such an extreme that even in his avowal the lover made use of "moz coverz" (*Amadas*, 474 ff.; *Cligès*, 1041). At all costs must the *torments* of love be concealed (*Amadas*, 376, 3212; *Cligès*, 3000, 4329).¹⁰

¹⁰ Cf. P. Tarbé, *Chansons de Thibaut IV*, pp. 79-80, Chanson liii.

But however hard it may be for him to do so, and however much he may try to avoid the issue, the lover must capitulate in the end, for Love is the enemy of stubborn ones (*Cligès*, 3821 ff.). This is the corollary of André's dictum "IX. Amare nemo potest, nisi qui amoris suasionem compellitur." In *Amadas* Love is not so stern; he gently instructs the lover how to begin his plaint (vv. 472 ff.).

"XX. Amorosus semper est timorosus." *Cligès* (v. 3819) illustrates André's law and so does *Amadas*. Ydoine, knowing nothing of the youth's passion, calls him to her:

Amadas en est en effroi;
 Ne set ke faire ne que dire,
 Que trop a chi grevex martire,
 Car dou celer li est mult grief 460
 Et dou descouvrir a meschief.

 A grant paour et a grant honte
 Commenche a basse vois son conte. 471

But what, after all, is the cause of love? André answers this difficult question out of hand: "Amor est passio quaedam innata procedens ex visione et immoderata cogitatione formae alterius sexus . . ." ¹¹ Chrétien says with more preciseness that the cause of love is beauty. At any rate, it is beauty that inspires the love of Alexander and Soredamors (*Cligès*, 494, 897) and of Cligès and Fenice (*Cligès*, 2967). When Amadas went to serve Ydoine at the feast, it was as though he had never seen her before.

Ore escoutés com grant tourment
 Li avint de cele aventure:
 De çou dont onques mais n'ot cure
 Fu si souspris estre son voel 235
 Que mors en dut estre de doel.
 N'est pas merveille, qu'il la vit
 A cele feste a tel delit,
 Si tres bele et si envoisie,
 A ciere fine, et si haitie 240
 Que nule feme n'ot mais tant
 Biauté en soi ne biau semblant.

¹¹ *De Amore*, p. 3.

En l'esgarder de la pucele
Li saut au cuer une estincele
Qui de fine amor l'a espris; 245

The last three lines observe a convention of which Chrétien has made much, namely, that the eyes carry love to the heart. This motif is elaborated in great detail in *Cligès* (484 ff., 698 ff., 2961 ff., 3832), and it is not forgotten in *Yvain* (vv. 1368, 2015), *Erec* (vv. 2091 ff.) or *Lancelot* (vv. 3988-98).^{11a}

As a rule the ladies of the romances were amorous enough, and sometimes they even made the first advances,¹² but occasionally the lady is pictured as being very haughty toward love. The direct source of this conceit was the troubadour poetry of Provence, in which haughty ladies abound; in time the characteristic was personified as Dangier in the *Roman de la Rose*. But in depicting the lady scornful of love, Chrétien and others were only elaborating a truth which André reduced to a sentence: "XIV. Facilis perceptio contemptibilem reddit amorem, difficilis eum carum facit haberi." More need not be said. But when the lady finally succumbed to Love's demands, she paid dearly for her early disdain. Soredamors, who, before she saw Alexander, could never find one to please her (*Cligès*, 445 ff.) was afterwards destined to pass many a sleepless night because of love for him. Ydoine, who was certainly more "fiere" than "La Fiere de Calabre" herself,¹³ was also fated to suffer dolorously for love of Amadas.

Mult i demaine male vie
Quant d'Amadas est departie.
A ire gist et a dolor;
Ainc mais feme si grant langour
N'ot onques mais por son ami; 2555
Bien se proeve l'amors en li.¹⁴
.
.
.
Encore gist a grant dolour
Malade contre lit d'amour,

^{11a} Cf. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, 3d ed. 1914, pp. 158-159 and note 2 on p. 159.

¹² Cf. Belissant in *Amis*, Rimel in *Horn*, and *Le Petit Jehan de Saintré*.

¹³ Cf. *Ipomedon*, ed. Kölbing und Koschwitz, vv. 446 ff.

¹⁴ Sometimes the lady availed herself of "dangier" even after she had accepted her lover; cf. *Lancelot*, vv. 3955 ff., 3975-77.

La contesse qui plus se deut 2885
 Que ne fist Tristran por Yseut,
 N'ele por lui quant l'ama plus.

Neither Chrétien nor André can claim the credit of inventing the pathology of love; that is as old as Sappho, at least; probably it has existed "des le tans as premiers amans." But both Chrétien and André give considerable space to it. Says the latter: "XV. Omnis consuevit amans in coamantis aspectu pallescere." Again: "XVI. In repentina coamantis visione cor contremescit amantis." In *Cligès* the lover grows pale and trembles (v. 462) and sighs (v. 453); he loses senses and "memoire" as well (vv. 2115, 3872).¹⁵ The mere thought of his lady causes Lancelot to lose color and power of speech (vv. 1449, 5263). That Amadas was a victim of the disease in all its virulence will appear from the following passages:

Ne set s'il a joie ou dolour,
 Ou amertume ou douçour; 250
 Ne set se il la vit ou non
 Par songe ou par avision;
 Si a la memoire perdue
 Et si tourblee la veüe
 Que de sa main chiet li coutiax. 255

La couleur li prist a cangier 258
 Et en la face et ou menton.
 Un souspir jeta a larron
 Tres par mi les vaines du cuer. 261

D'eures en autre couleur mue, 586
 Mainte fois se pasme et tressue.¹⁶

But the torments of love do not stop here: "XXIII. Minus dormit et edit, quem amoris cogitatio vexat." Alexander and Soredamors pass many a sleepless night in weeping and sighing (*Cligès*, vv. 614 ff., 882 ff.), and so does Fenice (*Cligès*, vv. 2992 ff.). Love so torments Fenice that she, like Amadas (v. 588), loses the desire to play. Guinevere's beauty, like that of Ydoine, is impaired by love-grief (*Lancelot*, vv. 4207 ff.;

¹⁵ See further vv. 4354, 4442, 5126.

¹⁶ See further vv. 779, 786, 825, 1071, 1114, 1117.

Amadas, vv. 2557 ff.).¹⁷ Love is not all bitter, however, for both Fenice and Amadas enjoy their pain (*Cligès*, 4575; *Amadas*, 290).¹⁸ But whatever pleasure there may be in Love's torments, Amadas is really in a pitiable state on account of them:

Le mangier et le boire pert 335
Si que li cuirs as os s'ahert,
La cars s'en fuit, tant est destrois.
Si mal la vit a ceste fois
Que demi an gist en langueur.¹⁹

Ydoine is even worse off—if possible:

Pale devint si afeblist,
Et sa bele couleurs noircist.
Bien pres est atainte de mort.
De riens que voie n'a confort. 2560
A douleur torne tout son cors,
As os se prent li cuirs dehors.
Sa face coulouree et tendre
Devint plus pale que n'est cendre.
Mal a au cuer, mal a au cief; 2565
Amadas n'ot onques si grief,
Ne tel paine ne tel anui
Por li comme Ydoine a por lui.²⁰

If the lady's beauty wounds the lover to the heart and causes him to languish pitifully, she is also the physician who can heal love's wound. Fenice refuses to see any doctor, for there is only one physician, Love, who can cure her illness (*Cligès*, 5807 ff.); nor has Lancelot

. . . talant ne volante 1352
D'anplastre querre ne de mire
Se sa plaie ne li anpire;
Mes *celi* querroit volantiers . . .

As far as Amadas was concerned,

Ne l'esteüst en autre terre
Autre mire mander ne querre,

¹⁷ See further *Cligès*, 4575 ff., 5070 ff., 5100; *Yvain*, 2756 ff.; *Blancandin*, 961.

¹⁸ See further *Cligès*, 3070 ff., 3080 ff., 3101 ff.

¹⁹ Cf. also vv. 588 ff.

²⁰ More will be said about this matter in Ch. V, "The Malady of 'Hereos.'"

De Montpellier ne de Salerne,
Car sa douleur toute gouverne
La damoiselle et son delit.²¹

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"XXVII. Amans coamantis solatiis satiari non potest." Indeed, Erec and Enide would not have ceased to survey each other even for reward (*Erec*, vv. 1502-03). The *Amadas* poet is not much concerned with this element of courtly love, or else he neglects it because he is too busy otherwise. But when Amadas disinters Ydoine in the cemetery (vv. 6529 ff.) it appears that he recompenses himself for whatever he has previously lacked in this respect.

Early in his career the knights reproach Amadas because he loves no gentle lady:

De tous biens en amenderoit,
Plus frans et plus courtois seroit, 110
Et plus hardis et mix vaillans,
De toute riens plus entendans.

Their opinion is a reflection of that of Chrétien and André. "O, quam mira res est amor, qui tantis facit hominem fulgere virtutibus tantisque docet quemlibet bonis moribus abundare!"²² According to the former it makes a lover rich, powerful and hardy (*Lancelot*, 634) and enables him to bear all sufferings (*Lancelot*, 3124). Every act of Lancelot's is intended to show the effect of love on the character of the lover; he is Chrétien's (or rather, Marie de Champagne's) conception of the knight who has reached perfection through love.²³

In addition to endowing the knight with every virtue, love increases his valor and strength in battle (*Erec*, 911; *Cligès*, 4122; *Lancelot*, 3650 ff., 3685 ff.). Many a time the sight of his lady or the mere thought of her has turned the tide of battle in the lover's favor; Amadas would surely have lost the fight to the "maufé" if the thought of Ydoine had not given him new strength and courage (vv. 6287 ff.).

²¹ See also *Guy of Warwick*, ed. Zupitza, 265 ff.; Gower, *Balades*, XXVII.

²² *De Amore*, p. 10. See also *Roman de la Rose*, 2110-2253, Gower, *Balades*, L.

²³ In *Escoufle* the Comte Richard de Montivilliers is always in love and so always hardy.

Very closely connected with this is another motif—of which the *Amadas* poet has not availed himself—so strikingly illustrated by Peredur ab Evrawc and Perceval. André formulates the law in these words: “XXIV. Quilibet amantis actus in coamantis cogitatione finitur” and “XXX. Verus amans assidua sine intermissione coamantis imaginatione detinetur.” The thought of his lady overcomes Lancelot more than once (715-733, 1436-39, 1546-47).

Only once does Amadas make use of Chrétien’s favorite conceit that the heart follows and remains with the lover and is his,²⁴ in the lines:

Ja soit ce que m’ aiiés trait hors,	
Douce amie, le cuer du cors;	699
Et si ne l’avés pas o vous,	
Ains est si perdus entre nous:	
Vous ne l’avés, ne je ne l’ai.	702

“XXV. Verus amans nil beatum credit, nisi quod cogitat coamanti placere,” says André. *Lancelot* amply illustrates this pronouncement: Whatever his lady does seems good to him (vv. 3960, 4094), for a lover must unhesitatingly obey all love’s commands for the sake of his lady (vv. 369, 4372, 4502). The lady’s command is sovereign (vv. 5672, 5876, 5910) and the lover must execute it quickly and gladly (v. 3816). The lover is the servant of the lady and of Love (*Yvain*, 1442) and his lady’s will is the lover’s will (*Yvain*, 4599). The expression of this rule, as well as “XXVI. Amor nil posset amori denegare,” is seen in the following passages of *Amadas et Ydoine*:

Oï avés confaitement	1485
S’ entraiment de cuer loiaument	
Cil doi amant a grant hounour	
Par fine loiauté d’amour.	
En leur corage n’a devise,	
De nule part n’i a faintise.	1490
Ce que l’un plaist li autres veut,	
Li uns sans l’autre riens ne deut;	
Li uns n’a joie ne leëce	
Pour coi li autres ait tristrece;	
Tant par est leur amors loiale,	1495

²⁴ Cf. *Cligès*, 4346, 4464, 4490, 5091, 5178 ff.; *Lancelot*, 1240, 4710; *Yvain*, 2639, 2733.

Sans faintise et sans teche male,
 Que l'uns ne puet sans l'autre avoir
 Ne bien ne mal sans nul voloir,
 Ne ja departison de rien;
 Ensamble un mal, ensamble un bien; 1500
 Communax leur est a coustume
 Maus, biens, douleurs et amertume.
 De toute riens sont si a un
 Que tout reçoivent en commun.

It is the courtly lover that speaks when Amadas says to Ydoine on her resurrection from the tomb:

"Ma douce amie, et je l'otroi;
 Ce que vous plaist, il plaist a moi;
 Sans felounie et sans orguel,
 Quanques vous volés, et je voel, 6770
 Et vaurai tant com serai vis."

"XII. Verus amans alterius nisi sui coamantis ex affectu non cupit amplexus." In its broadest signification the rule is faithfully followed by both Amadas and Ydoine. More than once the latter swears that she will have no other lord, and the thought of another lady never crosses Amadas' mind; indeed, he is astonished and grieved that Ydoine should suggest such a thing:

"Amie,
 Certes, je ne cuidois mie
 Que me tenissies a si faus.
 Ne sui mie si desloiaus
 Que je voelle apres vous avoir 4945
 Confort n'en vie remanoir,
 Ne vivre a droit ne a tort.
 Se vous morés, parmi la mort
 Irai a vous a terme brief." 4949

Nothing could exceed such loyalty. It is a common trait in Chrétien's romances also. Soredamors dies of a broken heart²⁵ (*Cligès*, vv. 2621 ff.); Laudine wants to kill herself on the death of her lord (*Yvain*, 1150, 1602), and both Lancelot and Guinevere all but take their own lives as each hears the (false) news of the other's death (*Lancelot*, vv. 4175, 4198, 4275, 4305).

²⁵ Cf. the death of the lady in *Les Dous Amanz* and in *Blancandin*, and the deaths of Tristan and Iseult.

To recapitulate, the *Amadas* poet makes use of the following stock conventions of courtly-love literature: That love should be well placed in a knight worthy of the lady's affections so that her reputation may be safe; that love should be concealed from the people; that Love instructs the lover how to behave and makes of him a pattern of all the virtues; that the lover is timorous, but that the lady's beauty causes him to confess his love; that the lady is disdainful of love; that love-pains cause loss of color, trembling, and languishment, but that the lady is the physician of the lover's ills; that when the lover has been accepted, he is happy only in obeying the lady's commands; that the heart passes from one lover to the other. Some use is also made of the idea that the lover can never satiate himself with looking at his beloved.

But none of these conventions has prevented the poet from portraying a real passion; that he was dealing, *modo suo*, with characters of real life, and not with artificial puppets of courtly imagination, is less apparent from the courtly rules he follows than from those he does not follow. He forcefully repudiates Chrétien's and André's main thesis that love is illicit and adulterous. More than once Ydoine sets aside André's first rule: "I. Causa conjugii ab amore non est excusatio recta." This matter will be dealt with below and more fully.²⁸

2. Romantic Conventions

Literature has always pictured the evil as foul-featured, and, by contrast, the good as beautiful. So, the evildoers of romance are usually filthy and deformed wights, while the heroines and heroes are models of beauty.

The pictures of the personal beauty of *Amadas* and *Ydoine* follow the conventional pattern. More often than not in the romances, the man's comeliness is summarily dismissed with a line—"Mult i aveit gent dameisel" (*Milun*, v. 293); but Chrétien, with his irrepressible love of detail, goes further, and so does the

* Other discussions of courtly love will be found in Raynouard, *Choix des Poésies des Troubadours*, II, "Des Cours d'Amour"; E. Langlois, *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, ch. 1; Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*; Neilson, *The Origin and Sources of the Court of Love*; Dodd, *Courtly Love in Gower and Chaucer*; G. Paris, *La Littérature française au Moyen Age*, 3d ed. pp. 199 ff. Additional bibliography in Dodd, p. 4, note 5.

author of *Amadas*. Compare the description of the young Cligès, vv. 2761 ff. with the description of Amadas, vv. 58 ff.

The poet was more interested in drawing the picture of the heroine; here he could let his imagination run wild—as he not infrequently did—though Chrétien, in his *unimaginative* moments, says that the lady was more beautiful than words could tell—after he has exhausted all the stock epithets and comparisons. Even if there be nothing original in the description of Ydoine, the passage is worth quoting as one more picture of a beautiful lady.

De sa feme une fille avoit	
Qui mult estoit et gent et bele.	
N'ot si renoumee pucele	
De cha les mons, de grant biauté,	
De francise ne de bonté.	130
Le chief ot bel et bien rêont,	
La greve droite et blanc le front,	
Et deliés et blons les crins,	
Plus reluisans que n'est ors fins;	
Mult les avoit et biaux et lons:	135
Aval li toucent as talons.	
Le vis ot blanc et bien traitis,	
Et les eux vairs et signouris,	
Douç le regart, et simple et sage	
Que nus n'i pot noter folage,	140
Ne nul samblant de lecherie,	
Nul seul trespas de vilenie;	
Biau nes, biau vis et bouce bele,	
Fresce couleur com fleur novele.	
De cors est alignie et gente	145
Si com Nature i mist s'entente	
A li fourmer en tous endrois,	
Piés et jambes, bras, mains et dois;	
Sans toutes tekes estoit faite	
Si com ymage en or pourtraite. ²⁷	150

Like Marie's hero Guigemar, Amadas was disdainful of love for a long time. More often it is the lady who is scornful. Something has been said of this matter in dealing with courtly conventions; since it is also a romantic convention, it must be touched again here.

²⁷ Cf. the picture of Laudine, *Yvain*, vv. 1492 ff.; Fenice, *Cligès*, vv. 2725 ff.; Soredamors, *Cligès*, v. 815; Enide, *Erec*, vv. 411 ff.; Urrique, *Partonopeus*, vv. 4863 ff.; Aude, *Girard de Viane*, p. 90; Serene, *Eledus*, v. 562 ff.

Paragon of beauty as she was, Ydoine had still one fault,

C'onques ne fu fille a nul roi
 N'empereour n'a duc n'a conte,
 Qui si tenist petit de conte
 Au droit d'amor com el faisoit. 175
 D'amour si sourquidie estoit,
 Et si fiere et si orgilleuse,
 Vers tous houmes si desdaigneuse,
 Qu'el ne prisoit en son corage,
 Por biauté ne por vasselage 180
 Nul houme ou monde por rikece,
 Pour parenté ne pour hautece,
 Qui regart li fesist de l'oel.
 Mult par estoit de grant orguel.

The author's observation in the last line is just. But Amadas was not the first—nor the last—to have occasion to complain of the hardness of his lady's heart. A number of fair ladies, not so hardy as the Wyf of Bathe, or perhaps not so expert, doubtless said, as did Criseyde:

Shal noon housbonde seyn to me "chekmat!"
 For either they ben ful of Ialousye,
 Or maisterful, or loven novelrye.

Indeed, "La Fiere de Calabre" was so haughty toward love that she swore she would marry only the bravest knight in the world; Ipomedon's beauty—at first—made absolutely no impression on her (vv. 446 ff.). Still more haughty, if possible, was the beautiful Orgueilleuse d'Amour who thought she could "gab" all men "tos tans," but who, when Blancandin kissed her, swore to have his head, or else hang him, or else burn or drown him. But Blancandin's three kisses have, as it were, unspelled her, and she soon begins to sigh for love of the handsome knight now more interested in the pursuit of arms than in ladies. Very similar to Ydoine is Felice in *Guy of Warwick*.

The mention of *Guy* calls to mind another convention of romantic poetry—the lover of low degree, a favorite in ballad and other non-aristocratic literature.

It seems beyond question that Amadas, if not of *low degree*, was at least of lower birth than Ydoine, and that was enough to satisfy the convention. The poet often speaks of the Duke

of Burgundy as Amadas' "sire" and "signour," for his father was seneschal to the Duke. Here Amadas resembles Guy, whose father was steward to the Earl (Count in the French version). But that Amadas was of no very mean estate is evident enough from the fact that his father, though he held fiefs from the Duke, held lands from other lords as well. Here we have to do with that complicated feudal system which sometimes made even the King of France the vassal of one of his vassals.²⁸ But the rank of Amadas, at least in the early part of the romance, is perhaps analogous to that of the Chatelain de Coucy, who was simply a knight and a gentleman.

Not infrequently the hero of a romance who falls in love with a high-born lady is of mean rank only in appearance. Thus Guillaume de Palerne is not really a squire—he is the son of the King of Sicily, carried off by a wolf in infancy and reared in ignorance of his parentage. Horn is also a foundling who at first sight seems to be of lower rank than his lady. Descending from royalty we come to Gautier d'Aupais²⁹ and his mistress, both of whom were children of respectable gentlemen, though Gautier, when he falls in love, is only a servant.

Perhaps the best example of the convention is the Middle English *Squyr of Lowe Degre*.³⁰ A squire to the King of Hungary loves the King's daughter and makes his moan to her. She does not repulse him because of his mean rank, but promises to love him in return, stipulating, as do both Felice and Ydoine, that he first render himself worthy of her love by the performance of deeds of arms:

For, and ye my love should wynne,
 With chyvalry ye must begynne,
 And other dedes of armes to done,
 Through whiche ye may wynne your shone;
 And ryde through many a peryllous place, 175
 As a venterous man to seke your grace . . .
 Till seven yere be comen and gone;
 And passe by many a peryllous see,
 Squyer, for the love of me . . .

²⁸ Cf. R. Rosières, *La Société française au Moyen Age*, I, p. 29.

²⁹ Ed. E. Faral, "Classiques français du Moyen Age," Paris, 1919.

³⁰ Ed. W. E. Mead, Boston, 1904.

In the above quotation we see another convention of romantic poetry—the conceit that the lover, in order to prove that he really loves his lady, and to prove also that he is worthy of her love, must seek fame in knightly adventures for her sake for a certain number of years.³¹ Ydoine addresses to Amadas an injunction similar to that which the Princess of Hungary addresses to her father's squire:

Par droite nature devés	
D'armes preus estre et alosés,	1240
Car vostre pere et vostre ami	
L'avront tos jors esté issi.	
Et au plus tost que vous porés	
D'armes avoir, les requerés	
Que il prient vostre signeur	1245
Le duc, qui vous veut grant honeur,	
Qu'il les vous doinst si ricement	
Com il doit et a vous apent.	
Puis si errés de terre en terre	
Vostre pris pourcachier et querre;	1250
Larges soiés et frans et prous;	
Li vostres soit dounés a tous;	
Si vous serai loiaus amie	
A tous les jours mais de ma vie. ³²	

Accordingly, then, Amadas

Trois ans entirs cerke son pris	
Noblement par pluseurs pais.	1434

Is this type of fidelity test possibly of Celtic provenience? In *The Wooing of Emer*³³ we read: " 'Fair is the plain,' said Cuchulain, 'the plain of the noble yoke.' 'None comes to this plain,' said Emer, 'who has not slain his hundreds, and thy deeds are still to do.' " So, even the valiant Cuchulain had to pass a period of tutelage under the Amazonian Scathach till he could win Emer as she desired to be won—by battle. It must be con-

³¹ The usual period of probation was seven years, at least in name: it may have been more or less. Cf. J. Hall, *King Horn*, p. 139, note to line 732.

³² Cf. the regeneration through love of Chevalier 'a le Mance in the romance of that name, ed. A. Scheler, Bruxelles, 1866-67.

³³ Cf. T. W. Rolleston, *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race*, p. 186; R. I. Best, *Bibliography of Irish Philology and Printed Irish Literature*, Dublin, 1913, under "Tochmarc Emire."

fessed, however, that the heroes of Irish romance did not usually have to be told to go prove themselves worthy of love by mighty deeds; rather were they beforehand in such matters,³⁴ and the young hero had either proved his prowess before seeking love, or would not seek it till he had done so. That in the French romances it should be left to the lady to instruct the lover in this matter illustrates, not only the decadence of lovers, but the antiquity of the concept. "La Fiere de Calabre," who was so proud that she would marry only the most valiant man in the world, makes some pretty sharp comments on this subject—to Ipomedon's shame (*Ipomedon*, vv. 866-904). Like Amadas, Ipomedon asks arms of his father (vv. 1737 ff.) and goes out into the world to seek adventures (vv. 1769 ff.). Torrent of Portyngale is also sent out to perform valorous deeds for the sake of his lady, though not by her.³⁵

X After his three or seven years of probation were over, the lover did not necessarily cease to perform valorous deeds for the sake of his lady. When there were no wars, knight and noble sought an outlet for their ebullient spirits in mock wars or tournaments. The historical fact was put to good use by the poets, according to whom tournaments served as an occasion for the lovers to prove their valor and the supreme beauty of their lady, in addition to serving as a sort of matrimonial clearing-house for the benefit of unmarried damsels.³⁶ If we may believe Chrétien, the institution of the tournament for the sparrow-hawk was an old one in King Arthur's land. It was at such a tournament that, for the sake of the fair Enide, Erec won the hawk from the arrogant stranger; Durmart le Galois does as much for

³⁴ Cf. Cahal, in Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland*, London, 1894, p. 224; Young Conal, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

³⁵ J. C. Halliwell, *Torrent of Portugal*, vv. 64 ff. The late prose *Cleriadus* also makes use of the motif.

A fidelity test of a somewhat different nature is found in *Le Bone Florence de Rome*, Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, III, pp. 47-104, vv. 995-1000; Emere must bring Garcy's head to Florence before she will be fully his wife. This again seems very much like a relic of Irish folklore, which delighted in imposing conditions on every possible occasion.

Another curious type of fidelity test is seen in the ballad *Tom Potts*. Lady Rosamond sends a letter to Tom; if he blushes while reading it, he is her true lover; if he laughs, he may look for a lady elsewhere; cf. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*.

³⁶ Cf. *Partenopeus*, *Lancelot*, *Ipomedon*.

the Queen of Ireland.³⁷ Failure to have fought many battles and to have overcome many knights for the sake of one's lady was regarded with astonishment, if not with contempt.³⁸ In this respect Durmart was somewhat "lache" at first, but later he entirely wiped out his early shame in the tournament before Arthur (vv. 6770-8811). Ipomedon acquits himself in the same fashion in the tournament arranged to settle "La Fiere's" political difficulties.³⁹

At the tournament assembled a month after Pentecost, Chrétien tells us:⁴⁰

La ot tante vermoille ansaigne
Et tante bloe et tante blanche,
Et tante guiple et tante manche,
Qui par amors furent donees . . .

In the tournament in which Amadas won great glory for himself and his lady (vv. 4254-4556) the poet does not mention that he wore a sleeve, or even so much as a ribbon, in her honor, as the custom was. But he was in no wise lacking in this respect when he went out to 'do his chevalrye.' Ydoine does not let him go before

Par druerie li envoie
Une enseigne de fine soie 1356
Bien ouvree d'oeuvre sutil,
Et une mance de cainsil,
Et une çainture a armer. 1359

Nor does she forget him during his absence:

Ses rices drueries beles
Li renvoie souventes fois, 1465
Et as guerres et as tournois,—
Aniaus, çaintures, guimples, mances
De cainsil, ridees et blances.

The custom was a widespread and a pretty one. Even Alexander of Macedon and the Greeks who fought at Troy are

³⁷ *Erec*, vv. 773 ff.; E. Stengel, *Durmart le Galois*, vv. 2661 ff.

³⁸ Stengel, *op. cit.*, vv. 1620 ff.

³⁹ Cf. the deeds of arms done for a lady's love in *Chaitivel*, and Giglain's mighty deeds in *Le Bel Inconnu*.

⁴⁰ *Erec*, vv. 2135 ff.

sent to war and carnage bearing a sleeve or other token of love.⁴¹ Perceval, the Chatelain de Coucy, Durmart, and Blancandin were so provided,⁴² though Gui de Nanteuil had to do without.⁴³ The Chevalier a la Mance informs us of the reason for wearing these tokens:

Mais amors m'aprent et enseigne
Que de vous aie aucune ensengne,
U guimple u mance por porter
En armes por moi conforter.⁴⁴

Not infrequently, as *Amadas* has indicated, these love tokens were sent by a messenger. But messengers between lovers performed much more important tasks than this: Garin is as indispensable to Ydoine as Kurwenal is to Tristan or Brangene to Iseult. Cligès and Fenice would have found themselves in a sorry plight if it had not been for Thessala and Jehan; Yvain would have been badly off without the help of Lunette. Guinevere is more fortunate, for she has any number of damsels on whom she can depend to send a message to Lancelot as occasion arises. Even though these people may be the ancestors of the unsavory Pandar and the old Trotta-Conventos, their rôle is usually innocent enough in the romances; their service is customarily restricted to carrying messages. While absent at the court of Duke Helymans, Galerent does not forget Fresne, but corresponds with her by means of messengers who come and go secretly, very much as Amadas and Ydoine correspond:

Par privés messages qu'il ont,
Qui souvent viennent et revont,
S'entremendent a leur plaisir
Leur privauté et leur desir. 1480

Secrecy and concealment in love have been dealt with as courtly conventions. It need only be remarked in passing that secrecy and concealment were romantic conventions as well.

⁴¹ Cf. *Alixandre*, p. 122, 21; *Troie*, v. 15102.

⁴² *Perceval le Galois*, vv. 13594; *Chatelain de Coucy*, vv. 702 ff.; *Durmart*, vv. 6827 ff.; *Blancandin*, vv. 1214 ff., 1785 ff., 4367 ff.

⁴³ P. Meyer, *Gui de Nanteuil*, p. 74: "Ne porte pas ensengne, manche ne penoncel." Cf. also *Galiens li Restores*, vv. 225-226, ed. E. Stengel, *Ausgab. u. Abhandl.*, LXXXIV, p. 651; *Audefrois le Batard*, ed. A. Cullmann, p. 106, 22.

⁴⁴ A. Scheler, *Li Dis dou Chevalier a le Mance*, vv. 133 ff. See also *Orson de Beauvais*, v. 1377.

A very pretty picture in *Amadas* is that of the old knight who leads Ydoine's palfrey by the 'rich rein of beaten gold':

Par la rice resne la tient
 Uns vius chevaliers qui la guie,
 Car mult souvent ont en baillie 4620
 Teus gens les dames a guier
 Et a conduire et a mener,
 Que mains est doutés hom de jors
 Que li jovenes en toutes cors. 4624

History tells us that it was a mediaeval custom for high-born ladies to have a knight lead their mounts by the bridle; a passage in *Lancelot* shows the practice:

Après la biere venir voient 560
 Une rote, et devant venoit
 Uns granz chevaliers, qui menoit
 Une bele dame a senestre.

But it is even better illustrated by *Cleomadès*:

Ordeneement chevauchioient 16648
 Car cascune dame tenoit
 .i. chevalier qui l'adestroit.⁴⁵

Situations in which it is an *old* knight who is the bridleman, however, seem to be rare; only one has come to my notice, in *Amadis de Gaula*, Bk. III, ix (I quote Southey's translation):

"Lady, said he, seeing your good will, I would obey you in a thing of toil and danger, how much more in this which is so necessary to me." Then they went toward the town; *an old knight who led her bridle* gave it to him of the green sword to lead, and he rode forward to prepare the stranger's lodging, for he was that lady's steward.

If the *old* bridleman is the *Amadas* poet's contribution to the motif, then we have an interesting footnote to *Amadis de Gaula*.

There is no doubt that under the social system of the Middle Ages, which was opportunist, if it was anything, many a high-born lady was married against her will to a lord for whom she had no personal inclination. Such marriages must have taken place

⁴⁵ Cf. also *Wigalois*, ed. F. Pfeiffer, p. 226; *Tandareis*, ed. F. Khull, vv. 14938 ff.; *Le Vair Palefroi*, ed. Långfors, vv. 955-961.

so often that they became commonplace, and so aroused no particular attention on the part of the writers of the time. The *Amadas* poet takes it for granted, as do the principals themselves, that Ydoine should make a good and profitable match with someone who would be able to hold the Duchy after the death of the Duke, for she was heir to all the land. This situation, too, was so commonplace that it passed into literature without any comment.

Aside from the case of Ydoine, perhaps the best illustration of a woman married against her will is the case of Iseult or Fenice.⁴⁶ One thing is certain: a lady who objected to her husband would get little sympathy in the Middle Ages; if her lord was too uncouth for her dainty taste, she might get kiss and caress elsewhere; sometimes she did.

3. *Literary Conventions*

A few words may be said here about the use of dreams, visions, and personifications. In *Amadas et Ydoine* we have to do with a kind of dream that belongs to a somewhat different category from that which served Guillaume de Lorris and his followers so well; it might be called the admonitory dream.

In verses 2061-2302 we are told how Ydoine hired three witches to frighten the Count of Nevers into abandoning his marriage with her. The night before the event they appear miraculously in his chamber, and cause all his men to fall into a deep sleep. The Count is apparently awake, but, "encanté" as he is, he has what he deems to be a dream or a vision; if he had been asked, he would not have been able to explain otherwise the presence of those whom he takes to be the three Fates. The Fates gain his confidence and then proceed to describe what will happen to him if he is so hardy as to carry out his intention of marrying Ydoine.

Of course, the whole thing is a hoax, and everyone concerned, except the Count, knows it is; but the reader is supposed to credit the influence of the Fates to the degree to which the Count

⁴⁶ Nicolette is threatened with two undesired marriages. In Celtic romance, Emer was betrothed against her will and so was Deirdre, and Ae, Find Mac Cumail's daughter. See further Marie, *Milun*; Orable in *Les Enfances Guillaume*; Oriana in *Amadis*; *Decameron*, III, ix.

actually believed in them: he doubted them not at all, and so the reader must admit the reality of the vision.

Whether Ydoine is prevaricating when she says:

De par Diu en avision
M'est par trois termes aparü
Un biaux hom flouri et canu, 2952

or whether she really thought she had had a vision, is equally beside the point: the Count believes that she had one, as he also believes that St. Peter and the three Fates appeared to her in Rome (vv. 7148-7233). These two visions might be called didactic and explanatory respectively, for in the first Ydoine is instructed to go to Rome, and in the second she learns the cause of her languishment and is advised to separate from the Count.

Previous to Guillaume de Lorris the vision was not a crystallized literary convention, and what use was made of it in literature, as in *Amadas*, was elementary. Charlemagne is twice visited by admonitory visions. Once he dreams that Ganelon has snatched his lance from him so that it breaks to pieces; then he dreams that he is beset by a leopard and a bear against which a greyhound defends him (*Roland*, 718 ff.). Again, the angel Gabriel makes known to him a battle which he will have to fight (2525 ff.). In another vision he foresees the struggle of Ganelon's kinsmen to release the traitor (2555 f.). The later Charlemagne *gestes* have not failed to keep the dream in some form or other. *Li Coronementz Looïs*⁴⁷ relates a fearful vision had by Count Guillaume. In *Floovant*, Galien, the father of the Saracen Ferragus, dreams that his son is attacked by a lion.⁴⁸ In *Fierabras*, Charlemagne's dream is a variant of the last named above in the *Roland*.⁴⁹

Elsewhere than in poetry the dream was treated by Fredegarius in his Chronicle (III, 12), and if it be argued that the *Amadas* poet was very probably unfamiliar with this work, it can be said in reply that he probably was acquainted with the Book of Daniel which served as Fredegarius' source.

⁴⁷ Ed. E. Langlois, SATF, vv. 287 ff.

⁴⁸ Ed. H. Michelant et F. Guessard; cf. p. xx; cf. also G. Vandelli, *I Reali di Francia*, II, P. 2, Lib. II, cap. viii.

⁴⁹ Cf. Kroeber et Servois, *Fierabras*, vv. 6136 ff.

But if both Fredegarius and the Bible be discredited, it can hardly be maintained that the poet was ignorant of Macrobius' Commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* and the text of Scipio's dream which it preserves. This work alone was sufficient to introduce the dream as a literary motif. Both Lorris and Chaucer bear witness to the popularity of the Dream of Scipio in the Middle Ages. To assert that the *Amadas* poet drew directly from Macrobius would be extremely hazardous, and no such assertion is intended; the purpose here is only to show where the dream was treated before him.

The same purpose is observed with regard to the literature dealing with personifications. Here, as in the matter of dreams, it will be remarked that the personifications occurring in *Amadas* are very elementary: Nature and Amour head the list as the oldest; then comes Fortune, also of respectable age; and then the three quite modern ones—Pité, Francise, and Paour.

Just as in the *Æneid* we find an admonitory dream, so also we find there a number of personifications (VI, 273-81). Terror and Fear are personified in the tenth book of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. Very popular in the Middle Ages was the *Psychomachia*, in which personifications abound, as well as in Avitus' imitation thereof. More popular still, perhaps, was the *De Nuptiis inter Mercurium et Philologiam* of Martianus Capella; it was even used as a text-book. Therein appear Grammar, Dialectic, Rhetoric, etc. Not long after Martianus, Ennodius imitated the *De Nuptiis* in his *Paroensis Didascalica*. Isidore of Seville has in his *Synonyma* a dialogue between a man and Reason. Boethius was known and read throughout the Middle Ages; it is doubtless his personification of fortune that has passed into *Énéas*, *Lancelot*, *Guigemar*, *Floire et Blanceflor*, and *Amadas*. Aldhelm, in his poem *De Laude Virginum*, depicts a battle between virginity and the principal vices. Boniface personifies the virtues and vices in his *Enigmas*.

Nearer to the poet than these writers in Latin, however, were didactic writers of his own age and tongue. Hugues de St. Victor († 1141) made use of personification in his *Arche Morale*, and so did the Renclus de Molliens (ca. 1200?) in the *Roman de Charite*. Two writers who died about 1200, Gautier de Chatillon and Alain de Lille, both introduce personification

into their works, the *Alexandreïs* by the former, and the *De Planctu Naturæ* and the *Anti-Claudianus* by the latter. A writer of the poet's own time, and a romancer himself, Raoul de Houdan, used the convention in various works—the *Songe d'Enfer*, *La Voie de Paradis*, and the *Roman des Eles*.

It thus appears that the author of *Amadas* had numerous models for the use of personification, so many, in fact, that he might have done better in this respect had he not been so busy doing something else.

CHAPTER IV

WITCHCRAFT AND FAËRY

In *La Littérature française au Moyen Age* Gaston Paris expresses the opinion that *Amadas et Ydoine* belongs to those "romans d'origine sans doute bretonne." ". . . Nous y signalerons des traces de mythologie, comme le rôle attribué à trois sœurs fatidiques qui président à la naissance et à la destinée des hommes, et des lieux communs comme la folie du héros causée par l'amour."¹

It has already been pointed out that *Amadas et Ydoine* seems to fall into a fourth category of literature not mentioned by Jean Bodel, namely, the *roman d'aventure*. It was further observed that *Amadas* diverges from the pure romance of adventure type in so far as it lays stress on love rather than on adventures. The elements of courtly love which it shows have already been treated: here the purpose is to examine what remains *Amadas* does show of the Arthurian or *roman d'aventure* type. The materials for our study are found in the account of Ydoine's attempt, by means of sorceresses and visions, to avoid marrying the Count of Nevers (vv. 1986-2314), and how she preserved herself "pucele et pure" when the Count failed to be intimidated (vv. 2315-2440); of her abduction by a supernatural personage (vv. 4625-4665); of Ydoine herself as the victim of a charm (vv. 4725-5363), and how she was rescued from false death by Amadas (vv. 5584-6461). Finally we shall study the various phases of love-sickness and love-madness (vv. 232-1057; 1792-1859; 2488-2521; 2710-1761; 3090-3414). Our examination will illustrate Paris' remark and furnish additional reasons for believing that his primary statement is probably true.

1. Sorcery

In literature, at least, witchcraft has always been a means of accomplishing the impossible, either for good ends or for bad ends. It would be difficult to say when hard-beset mortals first

¹ Cf. 4th ed. 1909, p. 113.

had recourse to supernatural aid. Clerks cunning in these matters were not always well received by the rest of society; white magic was looked on with a more or less tolerant eye, but black magic and those who practised it were damned. The magic employed by Ydoine under stress of necessity certainly looks more black than white; in order to frighten the Count into breaking his engagement to her,

Trois sorcieres, sans demorance,
A quises, qui de ingremance 2008
Sevent entr' eles toute l'oeuvre.

Such handmaidens as these had never before been found, says the poet, and to prove it he cites a number of their powers:

.sevent de nuit voler
Par tout le mont, et de la mer
Faire les ondes estre em pais 2025
Comme la terre
.
Resusciter la morte gent,
Des vis l'un a l'autre figure 2031
Muer par art et par figure;
Houme faire asne devenir,
Et ceus qu'il voelent, endormir, 2034
Et puis songer, çou que leur plaist;
Bestes orgener en forest,
Murs remuer et trembler tours, 2037
Et les euwes courre a rebours.

Witches were not infrequently employed in love affairs. In the *Æneid*, IV, 487-91, Anna consults a sorceress on behalf of Dido.² In the *Amores*, I, viii, Ovid tells how the witch Dipsas "proposuit thalamos temerare pudicos," and in the *Metamorphoses*, VII, 159 f., he describes the powers of Medea. In *Cligès* Thessala by her cunning performs good offices for Fenice. In Marie's *Les Dous Amanz*, the lady's Salernian aunt is skilled in the art of "phisike, herbes e racines." So in *Eracle* an old woman of dubious character ministers to the loves of Parides and Athenais.

² It may have been this passage that the author of *Amadas* had in mind; but see *Enéas*, vv. 1907, 4015, 6391.

2. Charms, Potions, Visions, Geisi

Witchcraft accomplishes the desired end, of course, by means of an agent: this is sometimes tangible, in the shape of physical charms or potions, sometimes intangible, in the form of visions or *geisi*.³ Usually magic agents were employed for the purpose of gaining or retaining love. Deianeira, jealous of Iole, sought, with disastrous results, to preserve the love of Heracles through a charm supposed to lie in the blood of Nessus.⁴ According to the testimony of St. Jerome, in his additions to the *Eusebian Chronicle*, "Titus Lucretius, poeta . . . amatorio poculo in furorem versus . . . propria se manu interfecit."⁵ Juvenal condemns such philtres and potions in the most forceful language.⁶ Lucian speaks of preparing a love-charm;⁷ Horace devotes the whole of the fifth Epode to such charms, while Ovid is very skeptical of their efficacy. Certainly they are unavailing to call back Simaetha's lover, Delphis.⁸ A very curious and disgusting instance of the use of charms to preserve love is related by the Corrector Burchardi.⁹

Such love-charms were used by the Celts as well as by other peoples. Love-marks are of frequent occurrence, and sometimes love-nuts appear.¹⁰ Diarmuid had a love-spot on his cheek that made him irresistible to all women.¹¹ Charms of all sorts are put to unavailing use in her effort to get a husband by a maid in the *Consilium Mediae Noctis*.¹² But in Celtic folk-lore we find that charms were employed to prevent love as well as to

³ The plural of the Celtic word *geis* which means "taboo," "prohibition." Cf. R. Thurneysen, *Die Irische Helden- und Königsage*, p. 80 and note 2; T. W. Rolleston, *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race*, pp. 164-165.

⁴ Cf. Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, vv. 572 ff.; Bacchylides, Ode XVI, 13 ff.

⁵ In Achilles Tatius' *Klitophon and Leucippe* the heroine is made insane by a love-potion.

⁶ *Satires*, VI, vv. 610 ff.

⁷ *Hetaerae*, Dial. IV.

⁸ Theocritus, *Idylls*, No. 2, "The Spell." Cf. Dido's preparation to burn every monument of Æneas, *Æneid*, IV, 494 ff. See also Virgil's *Eclogue* VIII, 68-90.

⁹ Cf. A. Schultz, *Das Höfische Leben*, 2d ed. I, p. 650, note 1.

¹⁰ Cf. the Rennes Dindshenchus, *Rev. Celt.*, XV, p. 334.

¹¹ Cf. S. H. O'Grady, *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*; see also ed. of R. J. O'Duffy.

¹² Cf. Merryman, *Cúirt an Meadon Oidce*, an eighteenth century poem making use of older traditional material.

gain it. In Marie's *Yonec* (vv. 419 ff.), it is a magic ring that protects the lady from the attentions of her unloved husband. Brun de la Montagne (vv. 3179 ff.) has a ring which will quench love.

In *Amadas* the charm employed to ward off love is the intangible vision, with only partial success. It may be observed that the use of the three Fates in this matter is novel in French literature.

3. *Wedding-night Resistance*

Ydoine, betrothed to one man and loving another, had three things to do: prevent the marriage if possible, cause it to be null and void in case it did take place, and preserve her favors for Amadas. We have seen that she had ample precedent for her attempt to get rid of the Count of Nevers; we shall now see that she also had plenty of examples for her attitude in the last matter.

The nuptial-night resistance credited to St. Cecilia has in it something of a conjuration and something of intimidation. Under the cover of telling him a secret, Cecilia says to her newly married husband: "Angelum dei habeo amatorem, qui nimio zelo custodit corpus meum. Hic si vel leviter senserit, quod tu me polluto amore contingas, statim feriet te et amittes florem tuae gratissimae juventutis . . ."¹³ Valerian asks for proof, and on the appearance of the angel is convinced. St. Cecilia successfully preserved her virginity, not for a mortal lover, but for a ghostly one. Chaucer tells the story in the *Seconde Nonnes Tale*, using mainly the *Legenda aurea* or the French version thereof. The legend was current at the end of the tenth century in a redaction by Simeon Metaphrastes.¹⁴ Aelfric (ca. 995-1020) tells the story in his *Lives of the Saints*,¹⁵ and Cockayne has printed another Anglo-Saxon version thereof.¹⁶

The manner in which Ydoine preserves her virginity, as has already been pointed out,¹⁷ is analogous to the method employed by St. Cecilia. This situation, except for the dénouement, is

¹³ *Legenda Aurea*, printed by F. J. Furnivall, *Originals and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, Part II, p. 194.

¹⁴ *Eng. Stud.* I, p. 215 ff.

¹⁵ Ed Skeat, EETS 114, II, 358.

¹⁶ T. O. Cockayne, *The Shrine*, p. 149.

¹⁷ *Supra* § 2.

very similar to one in the *Chevalier as deus Espees*. Gawain has been granted such intimate favors by a charming damsel that he thinks

. . . ke du plus faire
Est bien saisons des ore mes.
.
Et ele commence a plourer
Moult fort, si ke toute moulla
Sa face, si s'en merueilla
Mes sire Gauuains, ce ke doit.¹⁸

The damsel, unaware of Gawain's identity—she thinks he is dead—explains that she has loved Gawain for many years, and that it is for him that she is saving her maidenhood.¹⁹

More often, however, virginity was preserved by magic other than conjurations and exhortations,—a potion, ring, herb, or other magic talisman accomplishing the desired effect. In the *Estoire de Merlin* we read that Viviane beguiled Merlin with a magic pillow :

Mais tant sauoit ele de ses affaires quant ele sauoit quil
auoit uolente de iesir od lui ele auoit enchante & coniuere
.j. orellier quele li metoit entre ses bras & lors sendormoit
merlins non mie por ce que li contes fache mention que merlins
touchast onques a feme carnelment . . .²⁰

In the *Tristrams Saga ok Isondar* it is also a magic pillow with which Bringvet deceives Kardin.²¹

In *Charles le Chauve* it is related that the necromancer Belan provided Supplante with a magic ring which would preserve her purity :

. . . ne vous en doutes ja
Que trestoutes les fois que li rois couchera
O vous en vo lit, quant il se levera,
De vous sa volonte avoir fait cuidera,
Et si vous ai convent que ja ne le fera
Tant que l'anel aies que mes corps vous donra."²²

¹⁸ Ed. Foerster; cf. vv. 4934 ff.; 4940 ff.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, vv. 4964-5001.

²⁰ *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, ed. H. O. Sommer, Vol. II, p. 421. Cf. p. 280.

²¹ Ed. Kölbing; cf. ch. 87 and note to p. 101.

²² *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXVI, p. 112.

The beautiful Supplante is quite willing to marry King Josue under these conditions.

Et quant se vint nuit, la dame fu couchie,
En un lit ordene miex que je ne vous die.
Et li rois se coucha les la dame prisie;
Bien le cuide tenir toute nuit embracie,
Mais c'est un orilier de coi il s'esbanie.²³

It is a "racine" in *Raoul de Cambrai* that protects the lady on her wedding night. She is considerably disturbed on account of the approaching nuptials until she hears ".j. mir par la ville qui vint" advertising his powers. She interrogates him and learns that he carries with him a marvellous root:

"Diex ne fist dame, tant eüst son marit,
C'elle voloit, que jamais li fesist."²⁴

So the valiant lady bought the root:

Quant il fu eure, vont couchier a delivre.
La frainche dame si ne s'oublie mie:
Elle prent l'erbe, en sa bouche l'a mise.
Et H. coucha avuec s'amie;
Il l'a ases acolee et baisie,
Mais d'autre chose ne li pot faire mie.

Ainc ne sot en cel point demener
Que de la dame eüst ses volentes.²⁵

A charm is effective in *Orson de Beauvais* also, but arouses considerable ire on the part of the victim. A "chamberiere" of Thessala's stamp furnishes her mistress with an herb of magical properties. When Hugues was left alone with his lady

Lez la dame se couche c'onques nou pout amer.
Li glos se trait vers li por son cors deporter,
Et la dame tint l'erbe, si l'an a adese;
Lors sambla a Hugon, quant la diut apresser,
Que li cuers li fallit, si commance a trambler;
Et quant Hugues ço voit, si cuide forcener . . .²⁶

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 113. See also K. Nyrop, *Den Oldfransk Heltedigtning*, pp. 76-78.

²⁴ Ed. Meyer et Longnon, SATF, vv. 6861-62.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, vv. 6870-75; 6879-80.

²⁶ Ed. G. Paris, SATF, vv. 601-606.

But perhaps Chrétien de Troyes has made the most artistic use of the motif. In *Cligès* it is through the operation of a magic potion that Emperor Alis is exercised with dreams of dear delight. Thessala provides a drink such that

Des qu'il avra beü tel boire
Que ele li donra a boire,
Et si girront ansamble andui;
Mes ja tant n'iert ansamble o lui,
Qu'aussi n'i puisse estre a seür,
Con s'antre aus deus avoit un mur.²⁷

Visions of a different sort protect the lady's chastity in *Les Enfances Guillaume*. Orable loves Guillaume, the son of Aimeri de Narbonne. Her opportunist brother marries them by joining their hands, in spite of the fact that Orable was already betrothed to the Saracen Thibaut. Fortunately the lady is not only beautiful: she is cunning in lore as well; this stands her in good stead in protecting her chastity from Thibaut. That night, when they are seated at the marriage feast, a stag pursued by sixty hunters and four hundred dogs dashes through the hall, upsetting and even killing many of the guests. "Stop these enchantments," says Thibaut. But a fire-breathing giant takes hold of him, and he begs for mercy. To these wonders succeed others: lions and bears kill the pagan guests, and water drowns them. Wearied out with enchantments, as dawn appears Thibaut cries to Orable for pity. "I hope you had pleasant sport with me last night," says she; "you were very exacting, but I refused you nothing." Poor Thibaut has to believe it. But he has still enough sense left to bid adieu to his pretended wife and take himself out of Orange.²⁸

In Celtic folklore and romance there are many cases of damsels united against their will to men other than their favored lovers, for whom it becomes incumbent upon them to preserve

²⁷ Ed. Foerster; cf. vv. 3201 ff. Sometimes it was real poison the lady drank; cf. Cian's note to Sect. XLVIII of the third book of the *Cortegiano*, p. 368.

²⁸ Cf. L. Gautier, *Les Épopées françaises*, 2d ed. IV, pp. 299 ff. It was not necessary for Iseult to have recourse to magic in this situation; her honor, if not her chastity, was preserved on the wedding night by the substitution of Brangene in her credulous husband's bed. Cf. Gottfried's *Tristan*, vv. 12592 ff.; Eilhart's *Tristrant*, vv. 2831 ff.

their chastity. In almost every case the bride, who has been abducted, lays her captor under bonds (*geisi*) not to make her his wife or mistress for a day and a year, in the course of which length of time she expects to be, and invariably is, rescued by her lover. Fedelma puts the King of the Land of Mist under bonds not to touch her for a day and a year.²⁹ In the tale of "Lawn Dyarrig and the Knight," the lady puts the Green Knight under bonds not to touch her for seven years and a day.³⁰ The daughter of the Yellow King, whom Conal has won and lost,³¹ and Bloom of Youth,³² impose like obligations on their captors.

As an example of a mediaeval tale embodying this situation, upon analogues of which the modern tales mentioned above are doubtless based, may be cited "The Wooing of Emer."³³ Therein *geisi* are not specifically mentioned, but the formula thereof is employed in Emer's words to Lugaid. It appears that Forgall, the father of Emer, was opposed to the mating of his daughter with Cuchulain. Now while the latter was achieving valor under the tutelage of the doughty Scathach, his foster-brother Lugaid went forth to woo the maidens of Mac Ross. When Forgall the Wily heard this, he went to Lugaid and told him of the best maiden of Erinn, who was living with him. Lugaid said it pleased him well, and so Forgall betrothed her to Lugaid. "When now Emer was brought to Lugaid to sit by his side, she took in both her hands his two cheeks, and laid it on the truth of his honor and his life, and confessed that it was Cuchulain she loved, that Forgall was against it, that it was *loss of honor* for anyone that would take her to wife. Then from fear of Cuchulain, Lugaid did not dare to sleep with her, and he returned home again."³⁴

But Celtic legend, as one would expect, also preserves instances of *charms* employed for this purpose. In the story of "The Battle of the Birds" the giant's daughter, whose lover is temporarily under the spell of forgetfulness, on three successive nights protects her virginity from youths who have paid the marriage

²⁹ P. Colum, *The King of Ireland's Son* (a modern tale based on older materials), pp. 51-54.

³⁰ Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland*, p. 271.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-92.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 226 ff.

³³ Trans. by K. Meyer, *Archaeological Review*, I (1888) from a fragment of LU and a complete version in Stowe MSS 992.

³⁴ Meyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 300-301.

price. The first youth she fastens to a vessel of water so that he is unable to approach her; the second youth is magically fastened to the latch all night and cannot move; the third youth's foot sticks to the floor the entire night so that he cannot touch her.³⁵

Even though it is far afield, both as to date and literary type, I cannot resist citing here a remarkable parallel to the situation in *Amadas* which occurs in *Gil Blas*, Book IV, ch. iv. Blanche, in love with Prince Enriquez, was married against her will to the Constable of Sicily. She wished at all hazards to remain true to her lover, even though, as she thought, she had lost him, and could not bring herself to accept the caresses of one for whom she had no affection:

"When night arrived, Leontio's daughter felt all her terror and disgust redoubled. But what seemed likely to become of her, when her women, having undressed her, left her alone with the Constable? He enquired respectfully into the cause of her apparent faintness and discomposure. The question was sufficiently embarrassing to Blanche, who affected to be ill. Her husband, was at first deceived by her pretences; but he did not long remain in such error. Being, as he was, sincerely concerned at the condition in which he saw her, but still pressing her to go to bed, his urgent solicitations, falsely construed by her, offered to her wounded mind an image so cruel and indelicate, that she could no longer dissemble what was passing within, but gave free course to her sighs and tears. What a discovery for a man who thought himself at the summit of his wishes? . . . They accordingly partook of the same bed, but with a conduct altogether different from what the laws of love, sanctioned by the rites of marriage, might authorize in a pair mutually delighted and delighting."³⁶

Speculation as to Le Sage's source of the tale is of doubtful value: his use of the motif only provides additional proof that "similar manners will naturally be produced by similar situations," in literature as elsewhere.³⁷

³⁵ Campbell, *Popular Tales*, I, pp. 36-37. Cf. a similar situation in Dasent, *Tales from the Old Norse*, 2d ed., p. 81.

³⁶ From the translation by Tobias Smollett.

³⁷ In Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy* Evadne's resistance is more or less a case of funk and misplaced loyalty.—Before leaving the subject

4. *The Hoaxed Husband*

In a large number of instances a charm is used to prevent the consummation of love or to keep the legal husband at his distance while the lady lies in "avoutire" with a more favored lover.

Probably the *Ephesiaca* of Xenophon of Ephesus established the vogue of the potion drunk, not to preserve love or to obtain it, but to escape, by seeming death, an undesired marriage or at least preserve virginity. The motif has been used well enough by Masuccio Salernitano in his *Novellino* in dealing with the loves of Mariotto and Gianezza; by Luigi da Porto in his *Istoria . . . di due nobili Amanti*; by Shakspeare in *Romeo and Juliet*, and by Giraldis Cinzio in *Gli Ecatommisti* (III. 5). It is a potion of this sort that causes Alis in *Cligès* to have deceptive dreams. Sometimes the unloved husband is befooled by visions produced by pure witchcraft, as was Thibaut in *Les Enfances Guillaume*.

If literature be considered as more or less a reflection of fact, we may be able to find in the life of the Middle Ages, courtly influences apart, an explanation of the existence of the hoaxed husband in its literature. It seems to be fairly well established that under the feudal system a lady of rank had little or nothing to say in the matter of whom she should marry. Marriages were arranged according to the requirements of land and its succession. The noble married, not conformably to the dictates of his own heart, but according to the dictates of reason, which counseled him, if he had no land and castles, to acquire them by marriage, or if he had, to increase his holdings thereby. There was nothing to prevent his loving his wife even so, but it often happened that she did not love him, and it was from that cause

we may note a few more instances of virginity magically preserved: In Walensköld's *Florence de Rome*, vv. 120-23 we learn that "Unne moult riche piere" would stand Florence in good stead. In the English *Beves of Hampton* it is a ring that preserves virginity, but in the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtone*, vv. 998 ff., it is a girdle that performs this office; one recalls Brunhild's ring and (doubtless magic) girdle: cf. Bartsch, *Das Nibelungenlied*, X, stanzas 634 ff., 680, etc. *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, No. 195, p. 604, tells how on two successive nights a magic "cartha" preserves a maid's chastity. A parallel story is told by Giovanni Fiorentino in the *Pecorone*, iv. 1, in which the "cartha" is represented by sweets and wine. See further, Grundtvig, *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser*, No. 81, "Sövnernerne," and note to same; F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 90, No. 480; the story of Guhachandra and Somaphrabhā in Penzer's ed. of Tawney's *Ocean of Story*, II, 40-41.

that the evil arose. If the lady happened to be the only heir of a rich baron—as was Ydoine—her situation was even worse, for usually the lord called up three of his vavasours and forced her to marry one of them.³⁸ Also, the lord was often absent from home; if he was not at war, he was attending a tournament, or at least following the chase. Such absences, often prolonged, were extremely harmful to the marriage relation. Even if the lady might ordinarily have had no desire to seek extra-marital consolation, frequent and extended absence of her lord provoked that desire and provided opportunity for fulfilling it. Amorous chatelaines sought love outside the bonds of wedlock; sometimes they did not have far to seek.³⁹

It was inevitable that such liaisons should appear in literature and that literature should develop the details thereof. The cases of simple adultery need not detain us long; in the first place they are too numerous, and in the second they do not present the element of magic—save in the case of *Tristan*—with which we are concerned here. To that category belong the loves of Equitan and the seneschal's wife. A rather close parallel to this is found in *Durmart le Galois*. In *Yonec* the lady seeks consolation for an old and ill-favored husband in the embraces of a young and handsome knight. In *Tydorel* the motif is further complicated with a fairy knight. *Renard le Contrefait* develops the situation in *Laiistic*,⁴⁰ making the lover conquer the betrayed husband in war. The fair lady of Fayel, though chary of her reputation, at last yields to the embraces of the Chatelain de Coucy, for she would not have him die. The bright and shining examples—if one may use those terms—of marital infidelity, however, are Guinevere and Iseult;⁴¹ neither of them profited much by it in the end.⁴²

To a different category belong the cases in which a lady sets aside her husband (lover) through false death brought about

³⁸ Cf. Ragueau, *Glossaire du Droit françois*, ed. Laurière, s. v. "mariage."

³⁹ See, in general, H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*; R. Rosières, *La Société française au moyen âge*; A. Luchaire, *La Société française au temps de Philippe-Auguste*.

⁴⁰ Cf. Warnke, *Lais de Marie de France*, pp. cxxvii f.

⁴¹ In the Welsh Triads Iseult was known as one of the three incontinent women of Britain; her sisters were the other two.

⁴² For literature on the subject of the deceived husband consult the studies of M. Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, and A. C. Lee, *The Decameron* on tales II. 9, 10, III. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, V. 10, VII. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, VIII. 1.

either consciously or unconsciously; in the latter case usually, by means of witchcraft. Both Solomon and Samson have the unenviable reputation in mediaeval literature of having been shamefully deceived by their wives. Says Guiot in his *Bible*:⁴³

Quant moi membre de Salemon, 2134
De Costentin et de Sanson,
Que fames engignierent si,
Molt me truis d'eles esbahi.

Chrétien de Troyes was more specific; when the worthy doctors of Salerno hear of Fenice's (supposed) death,

Lors lor sovient de Salemon
Que sa fame tant le haï
Qu'en guise de mort le traï.⁴⁴

The ill fame which Solomon enjoyed among our ancestors seems to rest upon the very old and widely current tale of Solomon and Marcolf.⁴⁵ The best preserved version is in German.⁴⁶ A certain knight Fore has fallen in love (by repute) with Solomon's wife, Salme. He lands before Jerusalem in order to bear her away by force. Solomon defeats Fore and throws him into prison under the guardianship of Salme. While imprisoned Fore's wizard nephew, Elias, sends him a ring which inspires Salme with love for him when she puts it on her finger. Salme effects Fore's escape and promises to follow him six months later when a messenger shall come for her. At the proper time a "spilman" arrives, bringing with him a "zouberwurze" (v. 613). The properties of the root are such that upon eating it Salme appears to be dead (vv. 629-51). All efforts to revive her are fruitless and she is duly buried. On the third day the "spilman" disinters her and bears her off to his master (vv. 751-60).

⁴³ Ed. J. Orr. See also *Sept Sages*, vv. 424-28; *Elie de St Gille*, vv. 1793-98; "Blason des Femmes," *Rom.* IX, p. 299; "Blasme des Femmes," *Rom.* XV, p. 316; Mahn, *Die Werke der Trobadors*, IV, p. 236; Chabaille, *Li Livres dou Tresor par Brunetto Latini*, Lib. II. P. 2, cap. 89; Baudi di Vesme, *Del Reggimento del Messer Francesco Barberini*, p. xix; D'Ancona, *Una poesia . . . di Antonio Pucci*, p. 25; Langlois, *Roman de la Rose*, vv. 9203 ff.; Reinhard, *Eledus et Serene*, vv. 2441, 6867 ff.

⁴⁴ Foerster, *Cligès*, vv. 5876 ff.

⁴⁵ A version was current in Old French ca. 1220.

⁴⁶ F. Vogt, *Salman und Morolf*. For further material connected with the rape of Solomon's wife, cf. Vogt, *op. cit.*, pp. xli ff., and Jagić, *Archiv für Slav. Philol.*, I, pp. 82 ff.; Child, *Ballads*, IX, 1 ff. and critical material to "John Thomson and the Turk."

A rather feeble imitation of the Solomon and Marcolf (Morolf) story occurs in *Li Bastars de Buillon*,⁴⁷ it is essentially the same story as that told by the ballad "John Thomson and the Turk." The motif of false death is more closely followed in Martin Le Franc's *Champion des Dames*: "Morte se fist, qu'on l'enterrast."⁴⁸ It is not related that she employed magic, but we may assume that she did so. However, the best use of the motif has undoubtedly been made by Chrétien in *Cligès*. Here Fenice makes use of Thessala's magic potion which shall cause her to seem dead; the doctors are unable to restore her to life, and she is buried as a corpse. Cligès opens the coffin and the lovers are happily united. It is a successful case of husband-deception.⁴⁹

In *Amadas Ydoine* sets her husband apart from her at first and always, not by means of a vision, potion, or other charm, but by her tears and complaints and the protest that she will die if he touches her; this latter may be construed as a reflection of the Celtic *geis*.⁵⁰ But the magic vision has a retroactive influence: the Count is also intimidated by the memory of the warning given him by the three Fates. Thus, the Count of Nevers, like so many others, takes his place among the hoaxed husbands (vv. 2409-2448).^{50a}

5. Supernatural Abduction

The rape of a mortal woman by a personage belonging to the supernatural world is not a new motif in literature. Among others Ovid tells the story of the rape of Proserpina by Pluto,⁵¹ and before his time Moschus had related Jove's abduction of Europa.⁵²

⁴⁷ Ed. A. Scheler; cf. vv. 5758-65, 5770-75, 5918-22; 5934 ff.; 6183 ff.

⁴⁸ Cf. G. Paris, *Mélanges de Littérature*, p. 315.

⁴⁹ Cf. the false death of the Emperor's wife in *Marques de Rome*, ed. J. Alton, Tübingen, 1889, p. 135.

The similarity of Fenice's awakening by Cligès to the resuscitation of Ydoine by Amadas is striking; but it should be noted that Ydoine's false death was brought about not through her desire to escape a lover, but by a lover's desire to place her in his power.

⁵⁰ Compare the situation in *The Wooing of Emer*, *supra*, p. 79.

^{50a} In the *Perceval* continuation, vv. 12460 ff., it is not the lady who hoaxes her newly married husband, but a rival lover, Gaharies the enchanter.

⁵¹ *Metam.* V, 341-361.

⁵² *Idylls*, II, "Europa."

The scene of the rape in *Amadas* is so remarkable that it is advisable to quote it at length.

Si com la route erroit tot droit	
Et il vienent a un destroit,	4626
Au trespas d'un petit vaucel,	
D'autre part au cief d'un poncel	
A destre uns chevaliers leur sourt	4629
Sour un destrier crenu qui cort	
Plus que ne destent uns quariaus.	
Li chevaliers est grans et biaux	4632
Et si ot çainte longe espee.	
Au cief du pas d'une valee	
Leur sort, les galos, apoignant;	4635
Le chevalier vint ataignant	
Qui la dame tenoit au frain;	
Tout porte a terre en mi le plain	4638
Et palefroï et cevalier.	
Par sus le col de son destrier	
Met la contesse, si s'en vait.	4641
Ele pleure, souspire et brait	
A haute vois et as siens crie	
Qu'il ne l'en laissent porter mie.	4644

Ydoine's men are roused by her cries and give chase. But the stranger knight

Pres d'une liue a esperon	4653
L'a portee, voellent u non;	
Mais a un pas devant lui vienent	
De toutes pars, si le detienent	4656
Dou pas l'entree et le destroit.	
Et ausi tost comme cil voit	
Qu'il ne la puet porter avant,	4659
Si la met jus tout maintenant	
A terre, ne mot ne li dist;	
Et puis tantost s'esvanouist	4662
Que nus ne sot que il devint.	

For the moment the knight, who is a fairy, is balked of his purpose. He does not succeed in carrying Ydoine off, but he has provided the means, in the form of a magic ring, as will appear below, of doing so later; so that it may be said that on the whole the rape is successful.

Such forcible abductions are of very frequent occurrence in Celtic folklore and romance. In the story of "Cahal and Bloom of Youth," Striker, son of the King of Tricks, stole away Cahal's bride. Cahal went in search of her and found that Wet Mantle had stolen her from Striker. The lady had put Striker under bonds not to make her his wife or mistress for a day and a year, and Wet Mantle she put under *geisi* not to touch her for two days and two years. But Long Sweeper the *gruagach* stole her from him, and this abductor she put under bonds not to touch her for three days and three years. The Black Horseman in his turn stole her from Long Sweeper, and lost her to White Beard of the Western World, who must not touch her for four days and four years. On the eventual arrival of Cahal, Bloom of Youth thrust a sleep-pin into White Beard's head so that he fell asleep where he stood. Thus Cahal was able to rescue his lady.⁵³

In the tale of "The Cotter's Son and the Half-Slim Champion" a giant stole the wife of the king's son of Lochlin and took her to the Eastern World. Arthur fought with the giant and won her back.⁵⁴

After the arduous battles by means of which Conal has won the daughter of the Yellow King, Conal sleeps heavily. Now up comes the High King of the World and carries off the lady, for Conal cannot be roused. The lady makes her captor promise not to make her his wife for a year and a day; before going away she leaves with Conal an explanatory and instructive letter. Conal searches her out, kills the fairy, and wins back his bride.⁵⁵

Whatever be the cause of supernatural abductions in other literature, in Celtic tradition, with which we are primarily concerned here, such abductions are intimately connected with, and usually spring from, another definite situation in Celtic mythology.

⁵³ Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland*, pp. 236 ff.

⁵⁴ Curtin, *op. cit.*, pp. 362 ff.

⁵⁵ Curtin, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 ff. In Curtin's tale of "Lawn Dyarrig and the Knight" Lawn similarly rescues his lady from the clutches of the Green Knight who had been put under bonds for seven years and a day. The stories cited here are modern tales, but rest indubitably on older folklore tradition. Most of the details of the abduction situation have been happily combined in Padraic Colum's *The King of Ireland's Son*, a compilation of stories drawn, apparently, from the same sources as D. Hyde's *An Sgealuidhe Gaedhealach* ("Rìgh an Fhasaigh Dhuibh," p. 142), and Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, pp. 25 ff., and elsewhere (e.g. pp. 50-54; 237-238).

This is the situation of the fairy claiming as his wife the wife, sometimes a fairy herself, of a mortal man. It is well known that fairy women sometimes mated with men of this world. The wife of Crundchu was the fairy Macha.^{55a} The love-goddess Ainé was ravished by Ailill Olum to his sorrow.^{55b} Oisín,^{55c} Connla of the Golden Hair,^{55d} Guingamor, Graeent, Thomas of Erceldoune, Urashima,⁵⁶ and others were lured into the fairy other-world by the beauty of a *fée*. Count Raymond was betrothed to the fairy Melusine; Lanval, Desiré, Partonopeus, and Cuchulain were loved by fairy mistresses. Such liaisons must have been sternly regarded by the fairy men; what more reasonable than that they should seek to restore these love-errants to their proper domain?

An excellent version of the story of a fairy wife reclaimed by a supernatural personage and reconquered by her mortal husband is the *Tochmarc Etaine* or *Wooing of Etain*.⁵⁷ The fairy Midir loved Etain and married her, whereupon his jealous wife, Fuamnach, changed her into a butterfly. Miraculously reborn as a mortal woman, Etain became the wife of Eochaid. One day Midir appeared to Etain and entreated her to go back with him to the Land of Youth. He rose with her through the roof of Eochaid's palace and bore her off to the fairy mounds. There Eochaid besieged him, reducing mound after mound, till Midir was forced to yield him his ravished wife.

This ancient motif, in the mysterious fashion in which folk-literature operates, became fastened to certain stories about Guinevere. We have it on the authority of the *Vita Gildæ*⁵⁸ that Melwas, ruler of Somerset, violently seized Guinevere and bore her to Glastonbury. According to the *Myvyrian Archaiology*,⁵⁹ a Breton chief by the name of Mael disguised himself in a vesture of leaves and branches, seized Guinevere as she passed and bore her to his country.

^{55a} Thurneysen, *Irische Helden- und Königsage*, p. 360 (In Ces Noiden).

^{55b} Rolleston, *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race*, p. 127.

^{55c} Rolleston, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

^{55d} Hull, E., *Text Book of Irish Lit.* pp. 126 f.

⁵⁶ Brauns, *Japanische Märchen u. Sagen*, pp. 59 f.

⁵⁷ Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, pp. 113 ff.

⁵⁸ Mommsen, *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, XIII, p. 109.

⁵⁹ Vol. I, p. 175; cf. La Villemarqué, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, p. 59.

It is doubtless to this tenth-century tradition that Chaucer's contemporary Dafydd ab Gwilym refers: "Alas!" says he, "there is no use in sighing like an unhappy lover, and I may wish in vain for Melwas' ruse, Melwas the thief, who, by illusion and jugglery carried off the beautiful one to the end of the world."⁶⁰ In another poem dealing with Melwas we are told that this "beautiful one" was the daughter of Gogfran Gawr, that is, Guinevere.⁶¹ In Bk. X, ch. xiii of Geoffrey's *History* it is Mordred who is Guinevere's abductor.

The rape of Guinevere does not exist in Chrétien's *Conte de la Charrette*. But Ulrich von Zatzikoven, whose *Lanzelet* is thought to be the translation of an Old French poem anterior to the *Charrette*, made use of the motif. He tells how the lord of a strange castle claims Guinevere at Arthur's court, consents to fight a duel with Arthur for the possession of her, is defeated, but later captures her in a wood and bears her away.⁶²

The motif is also used by Ulrich von dem Türlin in *Diu Crône*. Guinevere, like Charlemagne's spouse in the *Pèlerinage*, inadvertently boasts of a certain knight. Arthur, curious, resolves to seek him out. The king overcomes the knight, Gasozein, and forces him to speak. The latter says that Arthur has held a captive of his at his court for seven years. She never loved you, says Gasozein, and offers the queen's girdle as proof of his statement. A duel is to decide who shall have the lady, Arthur forbidding any of his men to interfere. The duel is a fiasco. Guinevere again falls into Gasozein's power and would have succumbed to his embraces had she not been rescued in the nick of time by Gawain.⁶³

Ulrich von dem Türlin, as well as Ulrich von Zatzikoven, whatever his source may have been, preserves a motif which in its origin is doubtless Celtic. The similarity of the situation in *Diu Crône* to the situation in *Amadas* is at once apparent. In

⁶⁰ Jones and Owen, *Poems of Dafydd ab Gwilym*, p. 106.

⁶¹ Jones and Owen, *op. cit.*, pp. 326-327; A. Schulz, *Geschichte der Wälschen Literatur*, pp. 62 ff. G. Paris, *Rom.* XII, pp. 503-4, has quoted pertinent extracts from these poems; but he misread the handwriting of his English correspondent and has made a number of mistakes in spelling.

⁶² *Lanzelet*, vv. 4972-5360.

⁶³ Prof. K. G. T. Webster, *Eng. Stud.* XXXVI, pp. 337-69, has pointed out the analogy between this situation in *Diu Crône* and the ballad "King Arthur and King Cornwall."

the latter poem the "maufé" claims that Ydoine never loved Amadas, that she always loved him,⁶⁴ and proves it by a ring which Amadas had given to Ydoine (vv. 5735-82). He and Amadas undertake, not a sham battle, but a very serious one, to decide who shall have the lady, and like Arthur, the fairy warns his men not to interfere. In the end the fairy also admits that his pretensions were false and that Ydoine never loved anyone but Amadas (vv. 5969-6453).

Now the motif underwent another modification: if Guinevere could be carried off by a fairy knight, so also could other damsels of lesser rank be carried off by infatuated lovers, whether fairy or mortal. In the *Atre Perilos*⁶⁵ it is related how a strange damsel made her appearance at one of Arthur's feasts and asked a boon. She wished to be Arthur's cup-bearer, provided that the best of knights would undertake her defense in case of need. The task is assigned to Gawain. On the morrow a great knight rides into the hall while the court is at meat and carries off the damsel. Gawain is too courteous to interrupt the meal and waits till it is finished before starting in pursuit. After various adventures Gawain meets Escanor and worsts him in battle; the latter begs for mercy, but Gawain remembers his mother's words—the battle with Escanor was the only one whose favorable outcome she could not foretell—and strikes off his head.⁶⁶

We have seen that it was Gawain also who rescued Guinevere from Gasozein; on another occasion he rescued his own sister in a similar situation. For some reason or other, Gawain carried her with him on his journey to the King of the Isles, but was forced to set her down at a cross-roads. While they were waiting there for some good-natured chevalier to conduct her back to Arthur's court there appeared a knight on a black horse, mortal enemy to Gawain, who bore her away. After his business with the King of the Isles was done, Gawain found and released her.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ An application by the "maufé" to Ydoine of the fairy ancestry of the abducted lady.

⁶⁵ Ed. anonymously in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen u. Literaturen*, XLII, pp. 125-212, under the title "Der Gefährvolle Kirchhof."

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, vv. 144-200; 2130-2462.

⁶⁷ J. Stürzinger und H. Breuer, *Hunbaut*, vv. 334-415; 3431-3578.

A recrudescence of the Maelwas-Guinevere abduction story is found in *Durmart li Galois*. Arthur and the Queen ride to the chase; but, as in *Erec*, the Queen is left at the cross-roads with no one for company and protection but Ydier.

Tot maintenant iluec sorvint	
Bruns de Morois trestoz armes	4209
.	
Lonc tens a la roine amee,	4215
Plus de .vii. ans l'a desiree.	
.	
Devant li le mist et leva,	
Ydier li fiez Nu(x) s'avancha,	4220
Al frain l'ala prendre et saisir,	
Qu'il li vout sa dame tolir.	
Bruns de Morois se corecha,	
Le poing destre arme entesa,	
Ydier feri en mi les dens,	4225
Si qu'il en fu trestoz sanglens;	
Jus del palefroi l'abati;	
La roine en porta ensi.	

In *Lanzelet* and *Diu Crône* the abduction motif forms one of the principal elements of the story; in the *Atre Perilos*, *Hunbaut*, and *Durmart li Galois* it is adventitious; in *Amadas et Ydoine* it is also adventitious, but has been used by the poet, in a form that approaches the Celtic ideal, in such an artistic way as to constitute an indispensable feature of his poem.⁶⁸

6. *The Ring of Death*

It has already been noted that in *Amadas* the fairy knight is forced to arrange his abduction in two instalments.⁶⁹ His means of so doing he explains to Amadas after the battle at the tomb. When he tried to carry her off, Ydoine's men forced him to set her down; but

⁶⁸ Roland is the would-be abductor of Aude in *Girard de Viane*, ed. P. Tarbé; the incident may be a reflection of the Celtic motif. It may be objected that the escapades of such persons as Renaud de Dammartin, who in 1190 abducted Ida, Countess of Boulogne, formed a sufficient model for the rape motif in contemporary literature; but Renaud is not characterised by any features of the Celtic Otherworld as are the abductors treated above.

⁶⁹ *Supra*, p. 85.

Quant m'en parti, si li sachai
 L'anel dou doi dont ains vous dis: 6405
 Un autre anel faé li mis
 Ou petit doit qui d'or fin fu;
 Et si par a si grant vertu 6408
 Que nus hom ne le puet veoir.
 Et si vous di encor pour voir,
 Qu'il a si grant vertu en soi 6411
 Que ja nus ne l'avra ou doi
 Que il ne muire sans resort
 Maintenant d'une fainte mort; 6414
 Mais de droite mort n'es ce mie.

Amadas and Ydoine both knew well enough, to their sorrow, the virtues of that magic ring. It was through the operation of this talisman that the "maufé" hoped to get Ydoine at last. He was sure of its effectiveness, for he came to the cemetery prepared to resurrect Ydoine and lead her away; the wonderful palfrey which he brought with him was destined for her use. Indeed, the fairy knight improved on the Solomon and Morolf situation, for he brought with him a body which, apparently, was to take the place of that of Ydoine in the tomb.

Here again we have the appeal to the supernatural to accomplish an extremely difficult task. The use of talismans of one sort or another—potions, pins, thorns, rings—to produce sleep or the appearance of death, is of considerable antiquity. In the *Babylonica* of Iamblichus, Sinonius and Rhodanes are thrown into a trance by eating magic honey. In the *Ephesiaca* of Xenophon of Ephesus, Anthia takes what she thinks is poison, but which turns out to be only a sleeping potion. Photius of Constantinople in his *Myriobiblion* gives the story of *The Marvellous Things Beyond Thule* of Antonius Diogenes. Herein it is related that Dercyllis and Mantinias relieved the sufferings of their aged parents by causing them, through the operation of a sleeping potion, to fall into a trance from which they could not be awakened.

We have seen that the sleeping potion that gives the appearance of death to those who drink it was used by Masuccio Salernitano in his *Novellino*, by Giraldi Cinzio in *Gli Ecatom-mithi*, by Luigi da Porto in his *Istoria*, by Shakspere in *Romeo and Juliet*, and by Chrétien in *Cligès*, while in *Salman und Morolf*

it was a magic herb that caused apparent death. In chapter XX of the *Volsunga Saga* it is related that when Sigurd rescued Brynhild from her enchanted sleep, she explained to him the cause thereof: "I smote down Hjalmgunnar in the fight, and Odin in vengeance for that deed stuck the sleep-thorn into me."⁷⁰

It is to this category of talismans that the "anel faé" of the fairy knight in *Amadas* belongs. But the use of precisely a ring for creating a death-like torpor is of infrequent occurrence in folklore. In the Magyar tale of "The World's Most Beautiful Woman"⁷¹ it is indeed a ring which first causes the beautiful girl to appear to be dead (p. 169); in stripping her for burial the ring is removed and she awakens from her sleep. The second time the apparent death is caused by a pin stuck in her clothes, and she is awakened as in the first case. The third time the slumber-pin is so well concealed in her hair that it is not discovered, and she is considered really dead. The Prince of Persia finds her golden coffin, falls in love with her, and carries her home. During his absence the prince's sisters accidentally remove the enchanted hair-pin, and the beautiful girl comes to life once more.⁷²

Such sleep-thorns are a part of the household furniture of every evil hag in Celtic folklore. In *The King of Ireland's Son* Morag foils the intent of the Hags of the Long Teeth to put sleep-pins under the pillows of Baun and Deelish and herself; she puts them under their own pillows instead.⁷³ In the story of "Cahal and Bloom of Youth" Cahal's lady substantially aids him in her rescue by putting a pin in the giant's head so that he falls asleep where he stands.⁷⁴ Douglas Hyde tells in the tale "Mac Righ Eireann" that the King of Ireland's son, by virtue of a slumber-pin under his pillow, would have failed three times to have performed the tasks imposed upon him had it not been for the good offices of the short green man.⁷⁵ Similar use of

⁷⁰ Cf. M. Olsen, *Volsunga Saga*, p. 48, v. 20; A. Edzardi, *Volsunga & Ragnars-Saga*, p. 96.

⁷¹ W. H. Jones and L. L. Kropf, *The Folk Tales of the Magyars*, pp. 169 ff.

⁷² The same story is told in less detail by J. Jacobs, *Celtic Fairy Tales*, p. 90 ("Gold-tree and Silver-tree"), and in the *Celtic Magazine* for March, 1888, p. 217.

⁷³ P. Colum, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

⁷⁴ Curtin, *Hero-Tales*, p. 238.

⁷⁵ *Beside the Fire*, pp. 38, 40, 42.

the pin of slumber is made in a similar story told by Hyde of "An Lacha Dhearg."⁷⁶ In Padraic Colum's *King of Ireland's Son* it is the flower of the hawthorn that puts Fedelma to sleep for a day and a year (pp. 53-54).

The properties of the slumber-pin were such, sometimes, that it was not necessary even to touch the body of the victim with it. Such a "spike of hurt" put in the outside of his door-post causes a certain youth to fall into a deep sleep as he is about to go to church.⁷⁷

Prompted by jealousy perhaps, a young step-mother makes use of the slumber-pin when she learns that her step-son has been conversing with a swan-maiden. "I will give you five pounds," says she to the huntsman, "if you put a slumber-pin in his clothes. He will fall asleep then. She won't get a word of talk from him. He will be sleeping." It happened as she said, and the king's son missed his appointment on two successive occasions.⁷⁸

In the stories told by Larminie and Wlislöcki we see that the slumber-pin is employed by someone who has an interest in preventing a lover from joining his lady. The motif has been attached to a large number of tales telling how a youth rescues an enchanted princess; the slumber-pin causes him to miss his appointment with her, the consequences of which are usually dire. Occasionally, also, it is the slumber-pin that prevents the youth from unspelling the lady in the first place, as in *Der Ritter mit der Verzauberten Nadel*.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ *An Sgealuidhe Gaedhealach*, pp. 428 ff.

⁷⁷ The story is told by Campbell, *Popular Tales*, II, p. 310. Something of the nature of the drink of forgetfulness given to Cuchulain by the druids is the needle of forgetfulness—not of sleep or apparent death—in the story of "Die Schlangen Jungfrau" in D. Jecklin's *Volksstümliches aus Graubünden*, p. 126.

⁷⁸ Larminie, *West-Irish Folk-Tales*, pp. 220 ff., "The Nine Legged Steed." Parallel in some respects is the story of another jealous step-mother told by H. Wlislöcki, *Märchen u. Sagen der Transsilvanischen Zigeuner*, p. 47, No. 19. Here the youth is in love with the neighboring princess; as he is going to woo her, the jealous step-mother contrives to have him put a sleep-pin into his hair; he falls asleep and a thicket springs up about the place where he lies.

⁷⁹ Cf. J. Bolte, *Z. des V. f. Volkskunde*, XXI (1911), p. 160; Bolte u. Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den K. u. H. M. der Brüder Grimm*, II, 342. A story of this sort is "Chosha Sultan," told by L. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteraturen der Türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, p. 502, No. 6; it is found as far east as India in the tale of "The Brave Princess," J. H. Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 199. See also "Die Dunkle Welt," J. Haltrich, *Deutsche Volksmärchen*.

In the above cases the slumber-pin, wand, or potion simply puts the victim to sleep for a short space of time. When the situation no longer demands the unconsciousness of the hero, he is duly allowed to awaken by the removal of the slumber-pin or because the effects of the sleeping potion wear off. But not always was the action of the talisman as comparatively harmless as this: in one story, that told by Comparetti (*supra*, note 79), a poisoned pin causes Dragone to appear *dead* for three days. Indeed, in the stories of "Gold-tree and Silver-tree" and "The World's Most Beautiful Woman" already cited (*supra*, p. 92), the talisman causes the appearance of death till removed from the victim's person. It will be remembered that Juliet and Fenice were buried *as dead*.

In all these cases the Ring of Death, or its equivalent, the slumber-pin, has been used, as in *Amadas*, by persons more or less cunning in black magic for the purpose of accomplishing an evil deed. The motif, as has been shown, was a widely current one. The *Amadas* poet, making use of material ready to his hand, might have chosen the sleep-thorn, but he chose the (magic) ring because it served better the "maufé's" deceitful purpose.⁸⁰

7. The Fight at the Tomb

As in the Celtic hero-tales of the *Cotter's Son*, *Conal*, *Lawn Dyarrig*, *The King of Ireland's Son*, *Cahal*, and the romance of the *Wooing of Etain*; as in the French romances or their imitations, *Hunbaut*, *Atre Perilos*, *Conte de la Charrette*, *Lanzelet*, *Diu Crône*; and as in the ballads *King Arthur and King Cornwall* and *Sir Cawline* a knight fights with her captor or claimant for the possession of a lady, so *Amadas* fights a terrible battle with

aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen, 3d ed., p. 141; C. Schneller, *Märchen u. Sagen aus Wälschtirol*, p. 111, No. 38; D. Comparetti, *Novelline popolari italiane*, I, p. 102, No. 24; Zingerle, *Kinder u. Haus Mär. aus Süddeutschland*, II, 247 [drink]; G. Nerucci, *Sessanta Novelle popolari montalesi*, p. 494, No. 59 [drink]; Schneller, *op. cit.*, p. 107, No. 37 [drink]; G. Pitré, *Fiabe, Novelle e Racconti popolari siciliani*, II, p. 238, No. 84 tells the same story; E. Sklarek, *Ungarische Volksmärchen*, p. 193, No. 20 [magic pipe]; L. Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, II, p. 16, No. 60 [magic spell]; A. Coelho, *Contos populares portugueses*, p. 42, No. 18 [drink]; D. Mac Innes, *Folk and Hero Tales*, p. 141 [fruit and pin]; R. Foerster in *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari*, X (1891), p. 316, No. 14.

⁸⁰ Cf. *Amadas*, vv. 5740-72. For further material on the slumber-pin see Child, *Ballads*, I, p. 392.

the "maufé" for the possession of Ydoine. In *Amadas* this motif is found in a form of rarer occurrence—the fight with an opponent, supernatural or otherwise, at the *tomb* of the supposedly dead lady.

At sunset Ydoine died (v. 5297), and on the third day she was interred, with all the pomp and circumstance proper to her rank, in a special cemetery reserved for the nobility. That night, Amadas, like Cligès, took his arms and went secretly to the "place d'antiquité," there to bewail his "amie." As he lamented beside the tomb he became aware, by the noise which they made, of two companies of all sorts of people approaching the cemetery. Both companies stopped outside the wall.

Mais n'est pas trop espoentés,	
Fors c'un poi de hideur li prent,	5601
Car quide bien certainement	
Por ce que dire li oï,	
Que ce soient li anemi	5604
Qui le cors en voellent porter.	

One company carried a bier on which there was a body. The other company led a palfrey that made strange music as it went, for bells were hung from the reins, poitral, and stirrup straps of his harness. A strong and hardy knight, fully armed, caused his horse to jump over the wall. By means of the ring which Ydoine had presumably given to the strange knight, the latter caused Amadas to doubt his lady's fidelity. But after thinking it over, Amadas decided that there was something wrong, and resolved to defend Ydoine's body at all hazards. The strange knight placed an injunction on his people not to interfere in the combat. Neither knight gained any advantage in the first encounter. In the second the "maufé" drove Amadas from the tomb. In the third encounter Amadas cut off the fairy knight's hand, whereupon the latter acknowledged himself defeated. He then told Amadas some news he was glad to learn, and added that he could not die by arms, 'for his nature will not suffer it.' He and his company rode away, "grant duel faisant."

This situation reminds one first of all of the fight of Heracles with Thanatos for the recovery of the body of Alcestis.⁸¹ A

⁸¹ For this reference, as well as many others, I am indebted to Professor Kittredge.

faint echo of the fight at the tomb is also found in Bandello's story of the woman buried as dead.⁸² Gerardo offers to fight his rival for the possession of his lady, but the Ten prohibit it. Shakspeare does better, though Romeo's fight with Paris is not exactly for the possession of the body of Juliet.

A closer parallel to the situation in *Amadas* is found in the *Atre Perilos*, though here the lady is not dead, but only confined to a tomb. During his search for the abductor Escanor, Gawain is forced one night to seek shelter in a churchyard. He has not been sitting long on a "tonbel de marbre bis" before he feels something move under him. It develops that a lady has been shut up there by a "diable" who comes every night to have his will of her (vv. 1130-1234). It seems to her that Gawain has been sent by God to effect her rescue. Gawain does, in fact, set about preparing to fight the "diable," for by the noise which they hear, they know that he is now not far off. A terrible battle ensued, ended by the death of the "diable."⁸³

A still closer and, indeed, remarkable parallel to the battle scene in *Amadas* is presented by the modern Icelandic folk-tale of "Jón Upplandakonungur." At the time of King Olafr Haroldsson there lived a handsome young king by the name of Jón. He wooed a noble maiden and won her hand; but shortly before the marriage the bride became sick, died, and was buried. On the eve of the wedding Jón found in the churchyard a freshly-made grave. A great, tall man approached on horseback; he was girt with a sword, falcon on wrist and hound at heel. In reply to Jón's query he declared that he had come for his sweetheart, who had been but recently buried. The stranger also vouchsafed the information that it was he who, by means of witchcraft, had caused the girl to have the appearance of death so that no man might have her but himself. Jón and the stranger, Alheimr by name, fight. Jón kills the dog, the falcon, and *cuts off one of Alheimr's hands*. "I need both my hands in my country," says he, and flees. The grave is opened and the girl is found living. The story does not mention how she was brought back to life,

⁸² *Novelle*, Pt. II, novella xli.

⁸³ Cf. *Atre*, vv. 1290 ff.; *Amadas*, vv. 6122 ff. These two poems were written both about 1220; it is impossible to say which one is indebted to the other.

but it is probable that she was unspelled by Alheimr's parting words:

"Hestr er lestr, haukr er dauðr,
Hundr er sviptr lifi.
Gengr drengr or garði snauðr,
Gott hlaut ekki af vífi."⁸⁴

Here again the *Amadas* poet has made excellent use of a motif in folklore and mythology current from the time of Euripides to the present day.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ A. Ritterhaus, *Die Neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, pp. 313-314, No. 83; K. Maurer, *Isländische Volkssagen der Gegenwart*, pp. 330 f.

⁸⁵ Cf. *Klitophon et Leucippe*, III, xvii, in which the heroine rises from the coffin to the embraces of her lover.

Combats with eldrich knights are of not infrequent occurrence in ballad literature. In "Sir Cawline" (Child, No. 61), for instance, a knight by that name fights with a fairy knight for his lady (stanzas 22-26) and cuts off his hand as in *Amadas* and *Jón Upplandakonungur*. Later the lady is challenged at Arthur's court by another eldrich knight; Sir Cawline undertakes the battle and kills the fairy with the enchanted sword won in the previous encounter, thus definitely winning his lady.

CHAPTER V

THE MALADY OF 'HEREOS'

Probably no other hero in literature suffered more cruelly for the sake of love than did Amadas. He not only languished on his bed for two years and a half (vv. 243-1148), but on account of love he became

. . . enfin si esragiés
Tous jours estuet qu'il soit liiés. 1958

Love takes Amadas completely by surprise; its effects are immediate and do not give him a chance to defend himself. He grows pale and changes color; he trembles and sighs; so overwhelming is love that he loses sight and memory and does not know where he is. He loses desire to play; he eats and sleeps little; he grows so thin that the skin clings to his bones. There is only one cure for his malady, and that is the grace of his lady. But while he showed all the symptoms and suffered all the agonies common to lovers in similar situations, it will be noted that Amadas' case is somewhat anomalous: in the beginning he certainly wishes Ydoine to be his "amie" in the full significance of that word; forced by her inflexibility, however, he decides to be satisfied with "Bele pramesse sans proufit" (v. 714). Eventually matters are arranged to the satisfaction of the lovers—to Ydoine, at least—and Amadas is cured of his love-*languishment*. But if "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick," love thwarted turns to *madness*, and so it happened with Amadas. Ydoine's marriage to the Count of Nevers was insupportable; on hearing the news of it Amadas became a changed man—

Et la fine foursenerie
Li saut, et li cerviaus li tourble. 1797
En poi d'eure a corage double
Et toute raison li escape
Qu'il n'a si fol jusqu' a Halape.

It is with these two aspects of the malady of 'hereos' that we shall deal below.

In its general complexion, Amadas' love-sickness is a relic of antiquity, which conceived of love as a disease, a bane as well as a boon. In the *Ephesiaca* Habrokomes and Anthia suffer the pangs of the malady in silence till the oracle declares the means of its cure. Antiochus suffered miserably for the love of his father's second wife Strathonice. The tables are turned in *Hippolytus*; there it is Phaedra who pines for the love of her husband's son. By Euripides' use of νόσος—the Greek word for sickness other than bodily ailment—we see that Phaedra is suffering from love-sickness. Her symptoms are conventional. She lies on a feverish bed (v. 131) and is pale of color (v. 175); she tosses feverishly (vv. 203 ff.); she is frenzied in her speech (v. 232); she eats little (v. 275), and she even confesses that she has been distraught (v. 241).

Theocritus was not ignorant of the ravages wrought by love, nor was Simaetha; she lost her color and became pale and feverish; she wasted to skin and bone and her hair even began to fall out. At the sight of him she loved she turned cold and broke into a sweat, her body became rigid, and she lost the use of her voice.¹ All these ills Sappho experienced before her.² By the time of Ovid every lover wore a conventional pallor:

Palleat omnis amans: hic est color aptus amanti.³

Ovid alone would have been sufficient "authority" for the writers of the Middle Ages who wished to treat this theme, aside from the fact that the phenomenon was anciently and widely current in life as well as in literature. "Upon this hint I spake," the mediaeval poet might have said. That he spoke at length is now about to be shown.⁴

¹ *Idylls*, II, "The Spell," 82-92. One of the scholia on Theocritus allows us to infer that a maid went out of her head for love of Menalchus.

² T. Bergk, *Anthologia Lyrica*, pp. 364-365.

³ *De Arte Amandi*, I, 727. Cf. *Heroides*, IX, 136, X, 33, 44, XI, 127, XIII, 116; *Remedia Amoris*, 81, 92, 109, 115, 129, 138, 313-314, 526, 539.

⁴ For additional symptoms of love-sickness see *Æthiopica*, III, 19, IV, 7; *Chaereas and Kallirrhoe*, I, 1.9-10; *Apollonius of Tyre*, 18; *Klitophon and Leucippe*, I, 5, 3; *Daphnis and Chloë*, I, 13, 6, I, 17, 4; Catullus, *Carmina*, LXIV, 100; Propertius, *Elegiae*, I, 5.

1. *Love Symptoms*

Amadas, like so many, was the victim in all its virulence of what the mediaeval doctors called "amor heroycus." The polite literature of the time provides us with many examples of its symptoms; these may be grouped as follows:⁵

- (1) The lover becomes pales and changes color. Thus, for the love of Alexander Soredamors

Sovant palist, sovant tressue
Et maugré suen amer l'estuet.⁶

Thessala sees Fenice "tainte et palie" for the same reason.⁷ Dane loses her color because of her love for Narcissus:

En moult peu d'eure est si atainte
Qu'ele en a ja sa face tainte.⁸

Love works havoc with two lovers in the fabliau "Le Chevalier, Sa Dame et le Clerc":

Li clerc par fine foleisun
Ama tant ke il enmaladi:
Sa colur, sa beauté perdi.

.
De la pucele vus puis dire

.
Poi manga e meins dormi,
Perdi sa force e sa colur.⁹

Guinevere's color deserts her because of her anxiety about Lancelot:

. . . la reine,
Qui n'avoit pas color rosine,
Que por Lancelot duel avoit
Tel, don noveles ne savoit,
Que la color an a muée.¹⁰

⁵ Out of the mass of material only a few illustrative examples have been chosen.

⁶ *Cligès*, vv. 462-3.

⁷ *Cligès*, v. 3010.

⁸ Barbazan-Méon, *Fabliaux*, IV, p. 149; cf. p. 179.

⁹ Montaiglon-Raynaud, *Fabliaux*, II, p. 219.

¹⁰ Foerster, *Lancelot*, vv. 5263 ff.

Like Amadas, the son of the King of Constantinople loses his color when Jourdain's daughter refuses him her love:

Au fil le roi est la nouvelle alee,
De ce qu'elle a si s'ammor refusee.
Le mengier pert, la coulour a muee,
Qu'a la pucelle a si s'ammor donnee
Qu'il ne repose ne soir ne matinee.¹¹

Fergus' lady changes color at the mere sight of him:

La pucele por ses amors
Souventes fois mue colors.¹²

x (2) The lover trembles and sweats at the sight of or in the presence of his beloved.' The daughter of the King of Montorgueil trembles and grows pale for love of the brave Richard:

L'amours de lui tout le dechoit,
Elle tressaut, puis si palist,
Ie cuich que li cuers li falist
Pour l'amour qui au cuer li monte.¹³

Fergus' lady

Souvent tresaut, souvent soupire:
Sovent clainme le chevalier.¹⁴

Thisbe likewise is disturbed because of love for Pyramus:

Fremist et souspire aprement,
Toute se tressaut et tressue,
En poi de tens sa color mue.¹⁵

x (3) Love often so astounds or pains the lover that he loses the power of speech. It affects Lancelot thus when he sees Guinevere's hair in the comb:

¹¹ *Jourdain de Blaivies*, ed. Hofmann, vv. 3358 ff.

¹² *Fergus*, ed. E. Martin, p. 46, vv. 13-14. See also Barbazan-Méon, IV, p. 425, vv. 586 ff.; Rutebeuf, ed. Jubinal, I, p. 310; *Énéas*, vv. 1204, 1490, 7926, 8059, 8242.

¹³ *Richars li Biaus*, ed. Foerster, vv. 4890 ff.

¹⁴ *Fergus*, p. 49, vv. 29-30.

¹⁵ Barbazan-Méon, *Fabliaux*, IV, p. 337, vv. 345 ff.; *Énéas*, vv. 1233, 7922, 8074, 8076, 8243.

Qu'il avoit au cuer tel dolor
 Que la parole et la color
 Ot une grant piece perdue.¹⁶

Laudine's cruelty causes Yvain to lose the power of speech :

Yvains respondre ne li puet,
 Que sans et parole li faut.¹⁷

Love, though it came too late, still had a disastrous effect upon Narcissus ; when the dead Dane lies before him :

Il le regarde et ne dist mot,
 Car parler veut, mais il ne pot.¹⁸

\ (4) The true lover sighs frequently and even weeps :

Amurs i lance sun message
 Qui la somunt de lui amer,
 Palir la fist et suspirer.¹⁹

Galiene often sighs for the love of Fergus.²⁰ as does Thisbe for the love of Pyramus ;²¹ Josiane frequently sighs because of her love for Boeve :

"Si jeo ne eie son amour, jeo perdrai la vie."
 Issi dist la pucele, sovent plure e suspire.²²

Soredamors not only trembles and sighs, but sobs and yawns :

Et quant ele a tant travaillie
 Et sangloti et baillie
 Et tressailli et sospire,
 Lors a an son cuer remire
 Qui cil estoit et de queus mors,
 Por cui la destreignoit Amors.²³

\ (5) The intensity of his passion not infrequently causes the lover to fall into a swoon. It so happened with Narcissus, though sorrow is also partly responsible for his faint. Dane lies dead and he cannot speak :

¹⁶ *Lancelot*, ed. Foerster, vv. 1447 ff.

¹⁷ *Yvain*, ed. Foerster, vv. 2774-75.

¹⁸ Barbazan-Méon, *Fabliaux*, IV, p. 174, vv. 977-8.

¹⁹ Marie, *Eliduc*, ed. Warnke, vv. 304 ff.

²⁰ See note 14.

²¹ See note 15.

²² *Boeve de Haumtone*, ed. Stimming, vv. 455-56.

²³ *Cligès*, ed. Foerster, vv. 885 ff.

Li cuers li faut, trois fois se pasme
Et la parole a ja perdue.²⁴

But it is love unadulterated that causes Prophilius to faint:

Un sopir fet, si s'est pasmez,
La color pert, tot est muez.²⁵

In the same romance Athis is even worse off:

Esvanist soi, pasmer l'estut;
Onques plus voirs amanz ne fust.
Cil se pasme qui forment aime.²⁶

(6) "Minus dormit et edit quem amoris cogitatio vexat,"
said Andrew the Chaplain in his twenty-third pronouncement. x
The love torments of Alexander and Soredamors, of Cligès and
Fenice have already been noted. Chrétien does not say that they
wasted away to skin and bone: the picture of their sufferings is
lively enough without that. But in *Partonopeus* the loss of his
lady's favor so upsets the lover that

Mult poi menjue et boit petit;
Trois foiz menjue en la semeine.²⁷

Prophilius is even more abstemious:

Tost li le boivre et le mangier,
Ne puet dormir ne nuit ne jor.²⁸

These love symptoms were not entirely figments of the poets'
imaginings: we have it on the authority of the mediaeval doc-
tors of medicine that love wrought disorders in the mind and
brain of its victim. ". . . et eorum facies apparet immutata: x
et visus debilis: et oculi sicci et concaui . . . et eorum lingua
est sicca . . . et totum corpus siccum et durum: et multum
siciunt," says the famous Razi.²⁹ And again he says: ". . . et
eorum facies sunt croceae propter vigilias."³⁰ "Citruī sunt

²⁴ Barbazan-Méon, *Fabliaux*, IV, p. 174, vv. 970-71.

²⁵ *Athis et Prophilius*, ed. Hilka, vv. 617-18.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, vv. 3543 ff. See the sad state of Gaïte, vv. 4006 ff. See also
Partonopeus, vv. 5176 ff.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, vv. 5368-69.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, vv. 552-53. See also Foerster, *Venus La Deesse d'Amor*, 161-62.

²⁹ J. L. Lowes, "The Lovers Maladye of Hereos," *Modern Philology*, XI,
No. 4, p. 18.

³⁰ Lowes, p. 36.

ipsorum colores," says Constantinus Africanus of Salerno.³¹ According to the *Hayāt-ul-Hayawān* (*Life of Animals*) of Ad-Damiri, a lover is named '*āshik*' on account of his yellow color.³² Albukasim supports Razi: "Color vero faciei est citrinus, omnia sua membra sunt sicca."³³

✓ (7) Arnaldus of Villanova also noted of lovers that "comedendi postponuunt et usum negligunt comestionis,"³⁴ and he adds what may form the seventh category of love-symptoms, "potius maceratur." The same peculiarity has been noticed by Bernardus Gordonius: "Amittunt somnum et cibum et potum; et maceratur totum corpus."³⁵ This authority observes too that lovers "habent cogitationes occultos et profundas cum suspiriis luctuosis."³⁶ Galen, Valescus and Razi also refer to the leanness of lovers.³⁷ According to the latter authority the lover suffering from this malady goes "Stridendo alias vagando et clamando tota nocte," a symptom which has already been observed in the romances.

— As might be expected, an Arabic treatise deals with the malady of love in a somewhat more searching manner than do the others. Ad-Damiri's *Hayāt-ul-Hayawān* shows that the disease may reach such a state as to become veritable madness; some of his remarks are pertinent to *Amadas*: ". . . the lover is prevented from eating and drinking . . . and sleeping. . . . When ardent love becomes strong it becomes love-madness . . . ; in which state there is no room left in the mind of the lover for anything but the picture of the object of his love. . . . If this state increases, it becomes love-stupefaction . . . which is passing beyond all bounds and restraint so that the very quality of the lover changes, and his state is beyond management; he mutters to himself and does not know what he says and where he goes. At this stage physicians are unable to treat him."³⁸

Other authorities might be cited, but to penetrate farther into the forest of literature concerning love and its symptoms would

³¹ Lowes, *loc. cit.*

³² Lowes, *loc. cit.*

³³ Lowes, p. 21.

³⁴ Lowes, p. 35.

³⁵ Lowes, p. 10.

³⁶ Lowes, *loc. cit.*

³⁷ Lowes, pp. 28, 35.

³⁸ Lowes, p. 27. It will be noted that *Amadas*' madness is what is here called "love-stupefaction."

be to risk losing one's way. The authenticity of the phenomenon has been sufficiently well established above.³⁹ we may now consider some illustrations of the various stages of the malady of "heroical love."

2. *Love-distraction*

The illness of all lovers, fortunately, does not proceed so far as the last stage, madness; with many it is no more than a temporary derangement which does not cause the lover to take to his bed even; this we may call love-distraction. Fergus is so distracted; he has been seeking adventures and has found none, possibly because he was thinking of his "amie." When the host, with whom Fergus has been staying, tells him that his niece has fled, Fergus exclaims:

"Par m'ame, durement m'en poisse
Qu'ele s'en est ensi alle."⁴⁰

As Fergus and the host go along together,

Fergus ne set se consillier
De la pucelle qu'a perdue.
Amors l'encuse, amors l'argue,
Amors le cuist de l'estincele.
Totes eures a la pucele
A son cuer et sa volente.

L'aventure de lui l'abosme
Si qu'il en pert joie et deduit,
N'il ne set s'il est jors u nuit
Et s'il est vespres u matin.⁴¹

Fergus has been guilty of the crime against love so delightfully recounted by Henryson in "Robene and Makyne," but without the disastrous consequences portrayed in the fabliau of Narcissus. The host is unable to comfort him; he refuses all rest till he shall have found the girl. Fergus is sad, distracted, "pensis," but not mad, "fols," as are Amadas, Yvain, Lancelot, Tristan, and, at a later date, Orlando. Nor is he sick in any sense

³⁹ For a modern case of love-sickness, see J. Duff's translation of Aksakoff's *A Russian Gentleman*, p. 84.

⁴⁰ *Fergus*, p. 70, vv. 31-32.

⁴¹ *Fergus*, p. 72, vv. 4-33.

of the word as applied to the malady of love; he is merely dismayed by a reverse as is Filimene in *Il Filocolo*, Beltenebros in *Amadis de Gaula*, and Partonopeus de Blois in the romance of that name.

But Partonopeus' disorder is considerably more serious than that of Fergus, as it is fitting that it should be, since he broke the taboo laid upon him by his lady. Melior justly banishes him from her presence and from Chief d'Oire. As the ship returns from Blois, where Urrique has set him down,

Trois fois se pasme de randon.

Quant il nel puet mais raviser
Si se recommence a pasmer.⁴²

Partonopeus is so stunned with love-grief that on riding into Blois he does not respond to the greetings of his former companions who have come to meet him. In despair he shuts himself up in a vault and there bemoans his fate.

Or escoutez comment il vit:
Mult poi menjue et boit petit;
Trois foiz menjue en la semeine,
C'est pain d'orge et pain d'aveine,
Et puis boit la fontaine apres.
Tel vie maine tot ades:
Il ne lait pas son chief laver,
Ne ne lait ses ongles couper.
Iceste vie, iceste ahan,
Mena plenerement un an.
Au chief de l'an fu si megriz,
Si pales et si desconfiz
Et laidiz en chascun endroit
Que nus ne autres nel connoist.⁴³

Partonopeus' condition represents the transition between pure love-distraction and the second, more serious stage of the malady.

3. Love-sickness

In this stage of the malady of 'hereos' the lover has to take to bed. A great number of lovers are so stricken. It is related of Sir Cawline that

⁴² *Partonopeus*, vv. 5170, 5175-76.

⁴³ *Partonopeus*, vv. 5367 ff.

The maydens loue remoued his mind,
To care-bed went that knight.⁴⁴

In the ballad of "Will Stewart and John,"

. . . William he is in car-bed layd
And for the loue of a faire ladye.⁴⁵

Troilus knew well the sorrows of unrequited love; many a time he bewailed his fate in his chamber,⁴⁶ nor was it necessary for him to feign sickness:

Quod Troilus, 'y-wis, thou nedeleees
Counseylest me, that sykliche I me feyne!
For I am syk in earnest, douteleees,
So that wel neigh I sterve for the peyne.⁴⁷

Such also was the case of the "woful Damian"⁴⁸ and "many another mo," including Guy of Warwick.

In the *lai* of *Desiré* the motif of love-languishment is complicated with that of the fairy-mistress. *Desiré*, son of a Scots knight, fell in love with a fairy of the wood. As a token of her love she gave him a ring, with the warning that if he ever told of the affection between them, the ring would vanish and with it her favor. One day, in confessing himself to a hermit, *Desiré* inadvertently mentioned his love for the fairy.

Quant fu assoluz e seinez
A sun cheval est repeirez,
Par les estrus munte et tent le frein;
Les deiz esgarde e pus sa mein,
N'aveit mie de sun anel:
Sachez que pas ne li fu bel.⁴⁹

He sought out his lady to tell her that his betrayal was involuntary, but she avoided him. When he saw that there was nothing to be gained by staying in the wood,

⁴⁴ Child, *Ballads*, No. 61, stanza 4; see also stanzas 4-11.

⁴⁵ Child, *op. cit.*, No. 107, stanza 3; see also No. 238, where it is the lady who sighs, and No. 303, stanza 17.

⁴⁶ *Troilus*, I, stanzas 70-79; III, stanza 64.

⁴⁷ *Troilus*, II, stanza 219.

⁴⁸ *Marchantes Tale*, vv. 622 ff.

⁴⁹ F. Michel, *Lais Inédits*, p. 17.

A Calatir s'en vait arere.
 Mut est dolent de grant manere
 Del dul qu'il ad s'en pesanti,
 En poi de tens enmaladi;
 Sa grant joie met en tristur,
 Et ses chanz est turnez a plur;
 Un an enter e plus languï,
 Trestuz le tenent a peri;
 Tuz diseï(en)t qu'il moreit,
 E il meismes le diseit.⁵⁰

But the fairy eventually relented, deeming that she had punished him long enough, and healed him of his sickness.

As in the *Prose Tristan* Kahedin, so in the *Tavola Ritonda* Ghedino falls violently in love with Iseult. For the sake of Tristan, whose friend he is, Iseult bids him, in a letter, to comfort himself. This letter has the effect of rapidly improving his condition, but, alas, Tristan sees it and would have killed Ghedino had he not saved himself by jumping out of the window.⁵¹

According to the mediaeval poet the pious Énéas was not free from love-pains, for,

Cupido, ki ert deus d'amor
 et ses frere charnels esteit,
 en sa baillie le teneit;
 onc nel laissa la nuit dormir,
 ainz li fist faire maint sospir.

.
 amors le faiseit trespenser,
 amors le faiseit tressuër
 et refreidir et espasmir
 et sospirer et tressaillir.
 Amors l'arguë et comuet,
 tressalt que reposer ne puet;
 en son seant se rest asis,
 molt esteit mornes et pensis⁵²

*Li Romanz d'Athis et Prophlias*⁵³ furnishes three remarkable cases of very virulent love-languor. Two young men, Prophlias the Roman and Athis the Athenian, pursue their studies at the

⁵⁰ Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁵¹ F. L. Polidori, *La Tavola Ritonda*, II, p. 252; Löseth, *Le Roman en Prose de Tristan*, p. 64.

⁵² *Énéas*, ed. J. Salverda de Grave, vv. 8922 ff.; cf. vv. 8399-8425, 8426-8444.

⁵³ Ed. A. Hilka, Dresden, 1912.

city called the Eye of Greece. Athis fears that the indissoluble friendship they have sworn will be impaired by his approaching marriage; Prophilius reassures him, and Athis invites his friend to visit his betrothed. No sooner does Prophilius set eyes on the lady than he is seized with love-sickness and begins to manifest all the symptoms thereof.⁵⁴

A l'ostel vet Prophilius,
Faut li li cuers, mout devint las.
Dedanz un lit se vet couchier;
Tost li le boivre et le mangier.
Ne puet dormir ne nuit ne jor,
Mue le sanc et la color.

Un sospir fet, si s'est pasmez,
La color pert, toz est muez;
Sovant s'estaut, el lit se voltre
Por un petit que ne chiet oltre.⁵⁵

The science of the wise doctors is of no avail in treating this disease, for "Trop en est la fisque obscure."⁵⁶ Finally Prophilius is cured of his ill, inasmuch as Athis allows him to consummate his love with his betrothed, Cardiones. But Prophilius soon received the news that he must return home on account of his father's illness. He cannot bear the thought of leaving Cardiones, so Athis, by a still greater sacrifice, gives her up to him publicly and declares that he has never been her husband. Having, by his generous act, become a social outcast in Athens, Athis resolves to see if he cannot better his condition in Rome; he is handsomely treated by Prophilius. One day, during the public games, in which they both take part, Athis falls in love with Prophilius' sister, Gaïte; he is so overcome that he must be borne away from the theatre.

Amors l'assaut et le justise,
Mout le destraint d'estrangle guise:
Plaindre le fet, et suspirer,
Po puet en un sanblant durer;
Une foiz gist et autre siet,
Nule rien n'ot qui ne li griet.

⁵⁴ Hilka, *op. cit.*, vv. 529-38.

⁵⁵ Hilka, *op. cit.*, vv. 549-54, 617-20. See also vv. 556-57, 559-62.

⁵⁶ It will be remembered that Amadas did not bother even to send for the doctors; cf. vv. 315 ff.

Amors l'esfroie, Amors l'assaut,
 Fremist, soupire et si tressaut;
 Une ore a chaut, autre est si froiz
 Con se ce fust uns marbres droiz.
 Amors l'atise, Amors l'esprant,
 Amors li mue son talant.⁵⁷

But if Athis is "mal bailli," Gaïte is in a condition no less deplorable. As Ydoine suffers for Amadas (vv. 2883 ff.), so Gaïte suffers for Athis.

Un plaint gita, ne pot parler,
 Ainz comança a sopirer
 Mout de parfont et longuement;
 Ne n'ot ne voit, n'a rien n'entant,
 Ainz est par tot le cors froidie
 Con se ce fust chose sanz vie.
 Faut li li cuers, pasmer l'estuet;
 D'une grant piece ne se muet,
 Einz est si froidie come marbres
 Et verz com est la fuille es arbres.⁵⁸

Gaïte retires to her chamber; there she too is visited with sleeplessness and other symptoms of love-sickness.⁵⁹ But 'be the day never so long, at last it ringeth to evensong,' and both Athis and Gaïte find a pleasant cure for their ills.⁶⁰

The above citations support the hypothesis that the motif of love-languishment came into European literature through two distinct channels: it seems to have passed into *Énéas* and *Athis et Prophlias* from the erotic literature of the Orient—the Greek romances, for example—while the source of its use in *Desiré* and the *Prose Tristan* seems to be Celtic. A few Celtic examples of love-languishment may serve to illustrate this hypothesis.

A character in the Irish *Tochmarc Etaine*⁶¹ presents, in large, an analogy to Amadas in his love-languor. Eochaid Airem, King of Ireland, married the beautiful Etain.

⁵⁷ Hilka, *op. cit.*, vv. 3315-26. See further vv. 3539-46, 3743-48, 4137 can not sleep, 4141 sighs and laments, 4145 restless in bed. Prophlias recognises these tortures as deriving from love; cf. vv. 4198-4203.

⁵⁸ Hilka, *op. cit.*, vv. 3006-18.

⁵⁹ Hilka, *op. cit.*, vv. 3754-55, 4002-11, 4021-23, 4577, 4593-4602.

⁶⁰ See also *Flamenca*, ed. P. Meyer, vv. 157-186; *Eracle*, ed. Löseth, 3935 ff., 4014-31.

⁶¹ Ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, p. 113 f.

"Now there were three brothers of the one blood, all sons of Finn, namely, Eochaid Airem, and Eochaid, and Ailill Anglonnach, or Ailill of the Single Stain, because the only stain that was upon him was the love that he had for his brother's wife. . . . Now it followed that, after that the feast of Tara had been consumed, the men of Ireland parted one from another, and then it was that Ailill became filled with the pangs of envy and of desire; and he brought upon himself the choking misery of a sore sickness, and was borne to the stronghold of Fremain in Tethba after that he had fallen into that woe. There also, until a whole year had ended, sickness long brooded over Ailill, and for long he was in distress, yet he allowed none to know of his sickness."⁶²

Oengus, another Irish hero, tried to conceal the cause of his illness in similar circumstances:

"Oengus was sleeping one night when he saw something (like) a maiden near him at the top of his bed. She was the most beautiful in Erin. Oengus went to seize her hands to take her with him in his bed; when he saw the one whom he had welcomed suddenly away from him he did not know who had taken it from him. There he was until the morning; his mind was not easy. It brought an illness on him. . . . Food did not enter his mouth. There he was again for a night. She played him a song that he fell asleep. He did not breakfast in the morning. A whole year (elapsed) to him and she (went on) to visit him in his bed so that he fell in love. He did not tell it to anybody. He fell ill afterwards and nobody knew what was with him."

In this situation also, medical assistance is unavailing. So Bodb, the fairy king of Munster, is asked to come. "Have you a message? said Bodb. We have: Oengus, the son of Dagda, is in love for two years."⁶³ Here, so far as we know, there is no fainting and no sleeplessness. But Oengus does not eat, and he keeps the cause of his illness a secret; how it is eventually discovered is not told.

⁶² The Lebor na hUidre version is perhaps a little more explicit on the last point than is the Egerton: "For his longing was too strong for his endurance, and for this cause he fell into a sickness; and that there might be no stain upon his honor, his sickness was concealed by him from all, neither did he speak of it to the lady herself." Cf. A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, I, pp. 14 f., 24 f. Here it is interesting to note also the rôle of the physician: Fachtna, who attended Ailill, says to him: "'One of the two pangs that slay a man, and for which there is no healing by leechcraft, is upon thee; either the pangs of envy or the pangs of love.' And Ailill refused to confess the cause of his illness, for he was withheld by shame."

⁶³ *Aislinge Oengusso*, ed. and tr. E. Müller, *Rev. Celt.* III, pp. 342-50. See also pp. 347, 348.

It would be strange indeed if that remarkable hero, Cuchulain, about whose name so many tales have clustered, had not experienced something remarkable in the nature of a love adventure. Nor are our expectations disappointed: Like Amadas, Cuchulain languished in love-sickness before he was stricken with madness because of the loss of his lady. Since the tale of his adventure is contained in only one story, both his love-languishment and his love-madness will be treated in the following section, for it would be inadvisable to separate them.⁶⁴

4. Love-madness

Though sickness on account of love was common enough in antiquity,⁶⁵ a well-developed case of love-madness does not seem to occur;⁶⁶ even Sappho is not *mad*, and Phaedra seems to be the victim of no more than a violent case of love-languishment similar to those cases treated above in Section 3. Are we justified, then, in looking elsewhere for the origin of love-madness? What more natural than to look to that source which had already furnished examples of another kind of madness—the battle-madness of Cuchulain⁶⁷ and Suibhne Geilt?⁶⁸

While Celtic saga affords other instances of love-languishment, as we have seen, the frenzy of Cuchulain is the only case of love-madness which has so far come down to us.⁶⁹ The account of his sickness and derangement is found in the *Serglige Conculaind*.⁷⁰ Cuchulain had promised his wife Emer a gift of the next fine birds that made their appearance over the plains of Murthemne. One day two beautiful birds, linked together by a golden

⁶⁴ Prof. G. L. Hamilton has very kindly furnished me with the following additional references to love-sickness: *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XXX; Andrew Borde, *Breyary of Health*; cf. Furnivall, *A. Borde's Introduction*, 20, in S. Collet, *Relics of Literature*, 1823.4.

⁶⁵ *Supra*, p. 99.

⁶⁶ I should be grateful for any references.

⁶⁷ For the "riastarthae" of Cuchulain, see in general, the *Táin*, ed. Windisch, and particularly Strachan's *Stories from the Táin*, p. 3.

⁶⁸ The battle-madness of Sweeney will be found described in the *Buile Suibne*, ed. J. G. O'Keeffe for the Irish Texts Soc., and in J. O'Donovan's *The Banquet of Dun na nGedh and the Battle of Mugh Rath*, pp. 230-35. For these references I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Vernam E. Hull.

⁶⁹ There may be other examples in the mass of unedited Celtic matter.

⁷⁰ Ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, pp. 197 ff. See his Introduction, *loc. cit.*, and Anhang, p. 325; also Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, I, p. 53.

chain, flew over his head. Angered by his failure to kill them, he went away and fell asleep leaning against a stone.

"Then he saw two women come to him; the one of them had a green mantle upon her and upon the other was a purple mantle. . . . And the woman in the green mantle approached him and she laughed at him, and she gave him a stroke with a horse-whip. And then the other approached him, and she also laughed at him, and she struck him in the like manner; and for a long time they were thus, each of them in turn coming to him and striking him until he was all but dead; and then they departed from him . . . and a little after that Cuchulain came out of his sleep. 'Let me be carried,' he said, 'to the sick-bed that is in the Tete Brecc' . . . and thereon they bore him from that place, and he was in the Tete Brecc until the end of the year, and during all that time he had speech with no one."

On the advice of Conor, Cuchulain went back to the stone pillar. There he saw the woman in the green mantle. She announced to him that she was a messenger from Fand, the repudiated wife of Mananan Mac Lir. The messenger's brother, Labraid the Swift, will give his sister Fand to Cuchulain in return for one day's battle. 'I am in no fit state,' said he, 'to contend with men today.' 'That will last but a little while,' she said. But Cuchulain declined to go into the Otherworld at the invitation of a woman, even though Fand had set her love on him, so he sent his servant Laeg.

"Then Laeg returned to Emain, and he gave news of what he had seen to Cuchulain . . . and Cuchulain rose up . . . and his mind was strengthened within him for the news that the lad had brought him. . . . Then Cuchulain said to Laeg: 'Do thou go to the place where Emer is; and say to her that women of the fairies have come upon me, and that they have destroyed my strength; and say also to her that it goeth better with me from hour to hour, and bid her come and seek me.' . . . When Emer came to him she addressed him: 'Shame upon thee! . . . to lie thus prostrate for a woman's love! Well may this long sick-bed of thine cause thee to ail.' And Cuchulain at her word stood up; and he passed his hand over his face, and he cast all his heaviness and his weariness from him, and then he arose and went on his way before him till he came to the enclosure that he sought; and in that enclosure Liban appeared to him."

Such is the story of Cuchulain's love-languishment. Now we pass on to that portion of the *Serglige Conculaind* that deals

with his madness. Laeg's report of Fand's beauty persuades Cuchulain to go to her. He fulfills the imposed obligations and lives with her a month. But Emer learned of a tryst which Cuchulain made with Fand, and went with fifty women to kill her. Cuchulain gave his protection to Fand, and her husband, Mananan Mac Lir, came and took her back to himself.

"And Cuchulain saw the lady as she went from him to Mananan and he cried out to Laeg: 'What meaneth this that I see?' 'Tis no hard matter to answer thee,' said Laeg. 'Fand goeth away with Mananan the Son of the Sea, since she hath not been pleasing in thy sight.' Then Culchulain bounded three times into the air, and he made three great leaps toward the south, and thus he came to Tara Luachra, and there he abode for a long time, having no meat and no drink, dwelling upon the mountains, and sleeping upon the highroad that runneth through the midst of Luachra.

"Then Emer went on to Emain, and there she sought out King Conor, and she told Conor of Cuchulain's state, and Conor sent out his learned men and the people of skill, and the Druids of Ulster, that they might seek for Cuchulain, and might bind him fast and bring him to Emain. And Cuchulain strove to slay the people of skill, but they chanted wizard and fairy songs against him, and they bound fast his feet and his hands until he came a little to his senses. Then he begged for a drink at their hands, and the Druids gave him a drink of forgetfulness, so that afterwards he had no more remembrance of Fand, nor of anything else that he had then done; and they also gave a drink of forgetfulness to Emer that she might forget her jealousy, for her state was in no way better than the state of Cuchulain. And Mananan shook his cloak between Cuchulain and Fand so that they might never meet together again throughout eternity."⁷¹

'Tis not difficult,' as Laeg says, to see the points of resemblance between the madness of Cuchulain and that of Amadas. The former gave three jumps into the air and three great leaps toward the south till he came to Tara Luachra; the latter dashed off down the field into the forest. Cuchulain wandered about the highroad that ran through Luachra; Amadas ran about very pro-

⁷¹ A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, I, pp. 53-85; E. Hull, *The Hound of Ulster*, pp. 182-93; E. Curry, *Atlantis*, I, pp. 362-92, II, pp. 98-124; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de Littérature Celtique*, V, pp. 170-216; R. Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, p. 81. Summaries may be found by H. Zimmer, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.*, XXVIII, pp. 594-623; A. C. L. Brown, [*Harvard*] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, pp. 34 ff.; T. W. Rolleston, *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race*, pp. 225 ff.; E. Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, II, pp. 195-98; see also O'Looney in J. T. Gilbert's *Facsimiles of National MSS of Ireland*, I, pp. 27-28; II, App. iv.

miscuously till he came to rest in Lucca, where it was his habit to take a turn through the streets daily. Druids bind Cuchulain's hands and feet; Amadas' men bind him upon his horse; he is bound in his father's castle; in the cave outside Lucca also he is forcibly restrained. The Irish hero is brought to his senses by "wizard and fairy songs" chanted against him, or perhaps by the drink of forgetfulness. But Amadas regains his reason by a truly courtly and romantic—as well as magic—means—the kisses of his lady and the sound of her name repeated together with his. It will be noted also that Emer, like Ydoine, is in a pitiable state on account of her lover. The French poet has followed his "matière," whatever that was, with extraordinary fidelity; none of the French romances known to the present writer presents so exact a model of love-madness as does the *Sickbed of Cuchulain*.

Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that the other French madmen are figures from the same Celtic clay. Irish battle-madness has already been noticed.⁷² The motif of madness from grief for one reason or another must have been current in the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth (d. 1154) and before it, for in the *Vita Merlini* ascribed to him, Merlin goes mad on learning of the death of some of his friends.⁷³ The motif of madness for love was certainly current not much later, for Chrétien found it, in some form, in his source for *Yvain*. It may well be, as A. C. L. Brown points out,⁷⁴ that this source was a version of the *Serglige Conculaind*. *Yvain*, apparently, set the ball a-rolling; with so excellent a model, it was not long before love-madness passed into other romance literature. Though the *Amadas* poet was acquainted with Chrétien's romances, it is not necessary to suppose that *Yvain* served him as a model for the love-madness of Amadas; he may have had access to a source similar to Chrétien's source. This hypothesis is supported by a comparison of the motif in the two poems: in *Yvain* it has the appearance of an adventitious incident; in *Amadas* it is an integral and indispensable element of the plot, developed and finished with skill and art.

⁷² *Supra*, p. 112.

⁷³ Cf. San Marte, i.e., A. Schulz, *Die Sagen von Merlin*, p. 273.

⁷⁴ [Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. VIII, pp. 34-46.

As in the case of Desiré, it is the loss of his lady's ring—signifying the withdrawal of her favor—that causes Yvain's mental derangement. When the damsel takes the ring from his finger and commends to God everyone of the company but him,

Lors li monta uns torbeillons
 El chief si granz que il forsane,
 Lors se descire et se depane
 Et fuit par chans et par arees
 Et leisse ses sanz esgarees,
 Qui se mervoillent, ou puet estre.

Et tant conversa el boschage
 Come hon forsenez et sauvage,
 Qu'une meison a un hermite
 Trova mout basse et mout petite,
 Et li hermites essartoit.
 Quant vit celui, qui nuz estoit,
 Bien pot savoir sanz nul redot,
 Qu'il n'avoit mie le san tot.⁷⁶

Like Lancelot, Tristan, Le Biau Chevalier,⁷⁶ Amadas and later Orlando, Yvain went about naked (vv. 2832, 2892), killing wild beasts and eating them raw. One day he is discovered asleep by three damsels and is recognized by one of them, who considers that he is just the knight to deliver her lady from her difficulties. This lady provides a marvellous unguent, and it is by means of this that Yvain, like the Biau Chevalier, is cured of his madness (vv. 2991 ff.).

By the time of the *Prose Lancelot* (1222?) the motif of madness of lovers had become well fixed in romance literature. Pio Rajna notes that Lancelot goes mad four times: first in the prison of Camilla, from lack of food and drink; second, when he fails to find Galehot; third, when in the power of Morgan at her castle; fourth, when he is repulsed by Guinevere, who has heard of his affair with the daughter of King Pelles.⁷⁷

We may pass over the second and third⁷⁸ madness as not being pertinent to our matter. In the first instance Lancelot languishes

⁷⁶ *Yvain*, ed. Foerster, vv. 2804 ff., 2827 ff.

⁷⁷ *Infra*, p. 119.

⁷⁸ *Le Fonti dell'Orlando Furioso*, 2nd ed., pp. 394-95.

⁷⁹ Rajna errs here in calling Lancelot mad; he is merely drugged in his sleep.

in the prison of Camilla; unable to return to the Queen, he refuses meat and drink. "Et il ot la teste wide si li est monte vne folie et vne rage el chief si durement que nus ne puet a lui durer."⁷⁹ After his enlargement the sight of Guinevere soothes Lancelot's rage, but it is only the Damsel of the Lake who heals his madness.

Lancelot's second attack of real love-madness is brought on by the affair with the daughter of King Pelles. I give Löseth's résumé from the *Prose Tristan*.⁸⁰

Helyabel, la fille du roi Pelles, désire revoir Lancelot et obtient de son père la permission de se rendre à la cour d'Arthur avec Galaad, le fils qu'elle a eu de Lancelot, grâce au breuvage que le roi Pescheor avait fait boire à ce dernier. Elle vient à la cour et est bien reçue par Arthur. La nuit, Lancelot, croyant entrer dans le lit de la reine, se trompe et prend la demoiselle pour Guenièvre. Celle-ci les surprend ensemble; hors d'elle même, elle ordonne à son amant de sortir de chez elle. Il obéit et s'enfuit; son chagrin est si grand qu'il en devient à moitié fou et perd le souvenir de tout ce qu'il a fait.⁸¹

Slightly later than the *Prose Lancelot* is the *Prose Tristan*.⁸² It is only in this prose romance and its various translations that Tristan,—and this detail is due perhaps to the influence of the *Prose Lancelot*,—goes mad on account of love. The reason therefor is the letter which Iseult has written to comfort Tristan's friend Kahedin, who lay upon a sick-bed for love of her. I reproduce the situation from the *Tavola Ritonda*:⁸³

Tale lamento faceva Tristano alla reina, che mai lo simile udito non fue; ma la reina allora si voleva scusare e dire veramente con effeto la bisogna com'ella era stata. Adunque era Tristano tanto infiammato dell'ira per questo caso, che nulla egli non intendeva; anzi, cosie crucciato, si diparte quindi e vassene nella mastra stalla e monta in su qualunque palafreno egli incontra primiere; e appresso egli escie della citta, e cavalco tanto quel giorno e l'altro, senza mangiare e bere, ch'egli si truova nella grande valle del grande deserto d'Urgano. E allora lascia andare suo cavallo, e gitta via sue armi, e stracciassi sua roba, e pelasi suoi biondi capelli, e

⁷⁹ H. O. Sommer, *Le Livre de Lancelot del Lac*, I, pp. 409 ff. I do not agree with Rajna that the cause of madness here is merely lack of food and drink; rather, it seems to me, it is love balked of its consummation which brings it about "ch'egli ricusa di più prender cibo o bevanda."

⁸⁰ Cf. p. 233.

⁸¹ See also Sommer, *op. cit.*, III, p. 381.

⁸² Löseth, *Le roman en prose de Tristan*, p. xxiv, places it between 1215 and 1230.

⁸³ Ed. F. L. Polidori; cf. vol. II, pp. 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 258-262.

squarciarsi suo bello viso; e sempre per lo grande dolore, si faceva lo maggiore pianto del mondo. E ... andava ignudo e scalzo, e non beveva e non mangiava; e, per le molte lagrime e per lo molto digiuno, la sustanzia della natura gli mancava fortemente, e in tutto egli perde suo senno e conoscimento; e a tale si condusse e venne, ch'egli pasceva l'erba. E alcuna fiata, egli prendeva alcuna fiera ... della quale egli cosie cruda si ne mangiava. Egli era divenuto nero, livido, magro; e a tale era condotto, che la madre che lo portoe ne altri nollo poriano mai avere conosciuto. ... E per tale Tristano dimoroe a questo modo per spazio di sette mese ... e gli pastori ... sie cominciano a batter Tristano devangli grande bastonate; e tanto gli danno, che lo fecioro. ...

It was "in mal' ora per loro," says the compiler, for, unlike Amadas, Tristan struck back at his tormentors and killed seven of the shepherds. Finally his wanderings brought him to Mark's palace; there he was recognized and cured by Iseult, only to be banished from Cornwall forever.⁸⁴

To the same pitiable company of love-madmen belongs Mathan le Brun, whose story forms an incident of the *Prose Tristan*. Daguesnet, Arthur's fool, has been wounded by the mad Tristan and tells King Marc that he has been injured by "le fou de la fontaine." A squire, also wounded, gives more details. Now a knight of Cornwall suspects the evil-doer to be one "Mathan le Brun . . . devenu fou trois mois auparavant." By force of arms he had wrested a beautiful damsel from a proud and haughty knight, and after leading her off, had fallen violently in love with her. One day Gaheriet met the couple; fired by the beauty of the maid, he forcibly took her from her lover: "Mathan, humilié dans son amour comme dans son honneur, ne mangea ni ne but de quatre jours. Depuis, il était tombé malade et avait perdu la raison."⁸⁵

The love-madness of Le Biau Chevalier au Lyon is of a somewhat different nature. While he is absent seeking adventures, his rival, Chief d'Or, tells his lady, La Dame a la Lycorne, that the Biau Chevalier is dead. The lady swoons and Chief d'Or carries her off. He then sends a messenger to the Biau Chevalier with the news that La Dame a la Lycorne has died. The Chevalier is overcome with grief. Like Amadis de Gaula (II, 3-7),

⁸⁴ See also Löseth, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 68, 83-86.

⁸⁵ Löseth, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

like Tristan, and like Orlando (XXIII, 132-133), he throws his arms away:

Lors maintenant ses armes prent
Entour li et loing les geta,
Et en present il foursena
Et s'en aloit si con fuiant.⁸⁶

Like his brothers in misfortune he goes about "trestout nu" till his squire effects his cure by means of a magic unguent brought by a grateful falcon.⁸⁷

It will be noticed that Yvain and Lancelot go mad because of the loss of their lady's favor, Tristan because of jealousy, Le Biau Chevalier because of the supposed death of his mistress. The case of Mathan le Brun, who goes mad because actually dispossessed of his lady, is nearer to that of Amadas; but the nearest parallel to his misfortune is that of Cuchulain, who, though he has possessed Fand, cannot support the pain of seeing her pass from him forever. It is interesting to observe this closer resemblance of the French poem to what may be considered to represent the pure situation in Irish romance.

5. *The Cure of Love-madness*

Fortunately for lovers, their madness was not incurable. But just as their madness itself, in the mind of the mediaeval man, partook of the wonderful and marvellous, so the cure thereof, it seemed to him, must also be marvellous. Whenever the world has met with some thing which it has not understood, it has been prompt to apply to it explanations which are themselves unexplainable. The Middle Ages did not understand lunacy, and so, in literature at least, it was always cured by miraculous, unexplainable means. If Yvain and Le Biau Chevalier had not been cured by an unguent of marvellous properties, they would probably never have been cured. Lancelot is once cured by the white magic of the Lady of the Lake and once by the wonderful power of the Holy Grail. In the *Serglige Conculaind* it is the magical drink

⁸⁶ F. Gennrich, *Le Romans de la Dame a la Lycorne et du Biau Chevalier au Lyon*, vv. 7149-53.

⁸⁷ For other lovers going mad on the death of the lover, see Child, *Ballads*, II, pp. 110, 124, 130 ff., 133, 169. The motif was not forgotten by Rotrou in *L'Hypocondriaque* nor Corneille in *Mélite*.

of forgetfulness that restores Cuchulain to his senses. The manner of Tristan's cure is not related precisely: we know only that he was cured by his lady. It may be that Iseult had at her disposal some magic charm—did not her mother brew a magic love-potion?—by means of which to heal her lover, even so innocuous a charm as that employed by Merlin's wife Guendolene, her own name.⁸⁸ Is it possible that the *Amadas* poet was acquainted with the *Vita Merlini*?—for Ydoine uses the same means to heal Amadas:

"Amadas ! Biau sire Amadas !	3336
O cuer dolent et dolerous,	
Ydoine, qui se muert por vous,	
Com fine amie a son ami	3339
Piteusement crie merci."	
Le non d'Ydoine ot Amadas	
Et de s'amie; isnel le pas	3342
Est commeüs tout son forsens,	
Si entre en un nouvel pourpens.	
Parmi tout ce qu'est esragiés	3345
Li est auques le sens cangiés.	
Pour le non d'Ydoine s'amie	
Li trespasse la derverie	3348
Dont a esté cangié maint jor.	

It is not impossible, for Geoffrey had been dead not more than seventy years when *Amadas et Ydoine* was composed (1215-1225), and it is legitimate to assume that a subject so popular as the history of Merlin would not have been easily forgotten during a period that represents the flourishing of Arthurian romance.

In *Amadas*, however, this white magic is modified somewhat by Christian religion:

Mais a cascune des raisons	3393
Apertement noume leur nons.	
Çou est la miudre medecine,	
La plus aidans et la plus fine,	3396
Car autretant li fait d'aie	
Li nons d'Ydoine et d'amie	
Com un des nons nostre signour	3399
Que nous tenons a creatour	

⁸⁸ Cf. San Marte, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

Another element also is visible in the situation, and that is the courtly: what could have been more appropriate in the eyes of the mediaeval poet than that the most loyal lover in the world should regain sense and reason through the mere sound of his most loyal lady's name? It is a pretty and truly romantic conceit.⁸⁹

6. *Summary of Celtic Influences*

Throughout this chapter it has been the writer's purpose to present illustrations and allow the reader to make his own deductions therefrom. Perhaps it is no more than just that the writer should state his deductions.

At the beginning was quoted the opinion of Gaston Paris that *Amadas et Ydoine* is of Breton origin, that is to say, that it rests on material ultimately Celtic. To prove this hypothesis it would be necessary to find in *Amadas* important elements which are found nowhere else than in Celtic tradition; or which, since tradition is never homogeneous, may reasonably be supposed to be peculiar to Celtic culture.

Let us recapitulate briefly the various motifs treated in our study. It was found that if Ydoine, in calling witches to her aid, presumably had the example of Celtic legend as represented by *Les Dous Amanz*, she also had the example of the *Æneid*, *Cligès*, and *Eracle*, which are not of Celtic origin. It was shown that the sleep-thorn is found in a very extensive ethnological territory, and that though a respectable number of instances of its use occur in Celtic folklore, it is not exclusive thereto. In Ydoine's employment of magic agents and talismans, if she had the authority of a large number of Celtic examples, she had likewise the authority of a much larger number of non-Celtic instances. However, among such agents we discovered, even though it be in a very abraded form, one that is apparently not found elsewhere than in Celtic, namely, the *geis*.

We saw that sufferers from love-languishment and love-sickness occur in almost equal numbers in Celtic and non-Celtic tradition. But we did not find any well-developed instance of

⁸⁹ For the power of a name in a different situation see Grimm's "Rumpelstilzchen" and Bolte and Polivka's *Anmerkungen* thereto; cf. also E. Clodd, *Magic in Names and Other Things*, London, 1920.

love-madness except in Celtic sources or their derivatives.⁹⁰ It was shown that the *Amadas* poet makes use of this motif in a manner that represents a reasonably close parallel to an actual case of love-madness in Celtic lore, and that he avails himself of a cure that is doubtless of the same provenience.

It was observed that the abduction of ladies is no new motif in folklore or literature. It was likewise pointed out that in Celtic saga, which affords a number of cases of abduction, the motif is complicated by making the lady the fairy wife of a mortal man whose earlier fairy lover (husband) seeks to compel her return to fairyland; that in later developments the fairy wife gives place to mortal wife (lady), but the abductor remains supernatural. Though we have some cases of rape in non-Celtic myth, we have no instances except in Celtic where the motif assumes exactly this form. This is the form of the motif used by the *Amadas* poet.⁹¹

We saw further that a champion's fight for the recovery of his abducted lady is of great prevalence in Celtic tales. The fight of the champion at his lady's tomb is not without parallel in non-Celtic tradition; but while it is not found in any available Celtic story, it is the writer's opinion, based on the scene from the *Atre Perilos*, that this form of the motif may be Celtic also.

In *Amadas et Ydoine*, then, the *geis*, love-madness, and the fairy abductor are of Celtic provenience. And if Celtic origin be allowed for even one motif, then it is but reasonable to assume that the poet drew from Celtic sources also those elements which are found elsewhere in addition to being found in Celtic.

A further point should be observed, and that is the *manner* in which the poet makes use of his material: a lover who neither eats nor sleeps nor drinks upon a sick-bed whither hopeless love has brought him, whose frenzy must be forcibly restrained, who wanders about bereft of sense till cured of his madness by his

⁹⁰ Euripides, the most hardy of the Greek poets in dealing with the passion of love, did not go so far as to make Phædra mad as Amadas and Yvain were mad. Though they suffered grievously for love, none of the heroes or heroines of the Sophist romances were love-mad. Sappho and Simaetha were not mad; neither the νόσος of Pasiphaë nor the νόσος of the lover of Menalchus can be construed as amatory frenzy.

⁹¹ Cf. Chapter IV, note 64.

lady through a magic talisman; a lady who preserves her virginity for her favored lover from her unfavored lover (husband), tacitly placing her life upon his honor; a fairy knight who abducts a lady and employs upon her person the sleep-thorn (ring of death) and who sustains defeat at the hands of her champion,—this is a concatenation of elements producing a picture that is more indubitably Celtic than it is anything else.

CHAPTER VI

MANUSCRIPTS AND DATE THE AUTHOR AND HIS IDEAS

The romance of *Amadas et Ydoine* is so far known in whole or in part in only three manuscripts:

- P. *MS 375 fonds français* of the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris. Picard. Complete in 7912 octosyllabic couplets.
- G. *Cod. MS Philol. No. 184* in the library of the University of Göttingen. Anglo-Norman. Two non-consecutive fragments. 286 octosyllabic couplets.
- V. *Cod. pal. 1971* in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Anglo-Norman. 1130 octosyllabic couplets.

Of these three *P* is the most important. It is contained in a vellum folio, the binding of which, both back and cover, is stamped with the arms of France. The volume once belonged to the Peiresc family. It numbers 346 leaves measuring 316 x 382 millimetres. The script is clear, easy to read, and seems to belong to the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. The contents of the volume may be described as follows:

- I. 1. The Apocalypse, Latin prose (two columns), ornamented at the top of each column with rude miniatures: Fo. 1 ro. c. 1.
- 2. Explanation of the Apocalypse, Latin prose (three columns): Fo. 18 ro. c. 1, followed by the Prophecies of Cassandra.
- 3. *C'est de Seneke*. Prose. Fo. 27 ro. c. 1.
- II. 4. Perot de Neele's summary of the poems in the remainder of the volume (four columns). Fo. 34 ro. c. 1.
- 5. *Roman du Siege de Thebes*. Fo. 36 ro. c. 1.
- 6. *Roman de Troies*. Fo. 68 ro. c. 1.
- 7. *Et puis li Sieges d'Ataines (Athis et Prophilius)*. Fo. 119 vo. c. 2.
- 8. *Et ci apres des dis Jehan Bodel*. Fo. 162 ro. c. 4.

9. Et ci apres est d'Alixandre. Fo. 163 ro. c. 4.
10. Et puis des dus de Normandie. Prose. Fo. 216 ro. c. 1.
11. Branche du Roman de Rou. Fo. 219 ro. c. 1.
12. Chi commence del roi Guillaume d'Engleterre. Fo. 240 vo. c. 2.
13. C'est de Flore et Blanceflor. Fo. 247 vo. c. 1.
14. Chi commence de Blancandin. Fo. 254 vo. c. 1.
15. Chi commence de Cliget. Fo. 267 ro. c. 4.
16. Chi commence d'Erec et d'Enide. Fo. 281 vo. c. 1.
17. Chi commence de la Viellete, li xiii. Fo. 295 vo. c. 1.
18. Chi commence d'Ysle et de Galeron. Fo. 296 ro. c. 1.
19. Apres de Theophilus. Fo. 309 vo. c. 4.
20. Et ci apres d'AMALDUS ET D'IDOINE. Fo. 314 vo. c. 4.¹
21. Et ci apres de le Castelaine de Vergi. Fo. 331 vo. c. 2.
22. De saint Estevene (with musical notation). Fo. 333 vo. c. 2.
23. Et ci apres des vers de le mort. Fo. 334 vo. c. 4.
24. Et ci apres est li loenge Nostre Dame. Fo. 342 vo. c. 3.
25. Chi commence de le Viellete (fabliau). Fo. 344 ro. c. 1.
- 26-34. Nine miracles of Our Lady. Fo. 344 vo. c. 1 to Fo. 346 vo. c. 4.

In this enumeration of the contents of the volume the material has been divided into two parts. Part I differs from the remainder both as regards script and arrangement, the matter being written in columns of two and three to the folio. In Part II the script is small and regular, the matter being arranged in four columns to the folio, each column supposed to be sixty lines in length, though some number fifty-nine, fifty-eight, or even fifty-three. Obviously, Part I did not originally belong with Part II.

In the first part, as has been said, we find that the script differs from that in the second part. But Part II itself was the work of more than one scribe. A portion of it was written by Jehan Madot, nephew of Adam le Bossu d'Arras, as we learn from his "Explicit" to the *Roman de Troie*.

Cis livres fu fais et finés
En l'an de l'incarnation,

¹ The poem actually begins Fo. 315 ro. c. 1, since 314 vo. c. 4 remains blank except for the above rubric.

Que Jhesus souffri passion,
 Quatre vins et mile et deus cents
 Et wit: biax fu li tans et gens,
 Fors tant que ciex avoit trop froit,
 Qui surcot ne cote n'avoit.²

Madot apparently continued his work into the *Roman d'Alixandre*. But at the bottom of c. 1, Fo. 182 ro. the writing changes; the *Alixandre* and the remainder of the manuscript was finished by the new scribe. His work must be later than 1282.

Whoever it was who copied the latter part of MS 375, he was at least a good writer and an artistic workman. The large capital beginning the romance is beautifully done in red and blue. The next small capital beginning "Enpris ai" is blue, and the next, beginning "Cil dus" is red; thus the color of the capitals alternates throughout the manuscript. From 315 ro. to 323 ro. the lines are of uneven length and give an indented appearance to the columns, while the usual decorations in the first line of each column present no special peculiarities. But beginning with 323 vo. a change is visible in the appearance of the column: care has been taken to make the lines of almost equal length by lengthening an *n* or an *s* or a *t*, or by filling up the line with a flourish. The capitals are also more frequent and more floridly decorated, while the elaborate letters at the top of the folio assume strange forms. Is this exuberance due to a fourth scribe?

The identity of the scribe of *Amadas* is for the present uncertain. Paulin Paris conjectured that the script was English,³ but we have Paul Meyer's testimony to the contrary.⁴ However it may be with regard to the scribe, it has been proved by G. Paris that the author of *Amadas* was Anglo-Norman.⁵

G. The Göttingen fragments were first published by H. Andresen in the thirteenth volume of the *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, pp. 85-98. His description thereof will serve our present purpose. The fragments consist of two vellum leaves, the matter being arranged in two columns to the leaf. Each

² Qu'il avoit perdu et payé/Par le dé qui l'ot engigné.

³ *Manuscripts français*, III, p. 224.

⁴ G. Paris, *Mélanges de littérature française*, p. 329, note 3.

⁵ "Sur *Amadas* et *Idoine*," *op. cit.*, pp. 328-336.

column, recto and verso, of I contains 35 lines, while each column of II recto has 36 and verso 37 lines. The script is Anglo-Norman, and though touched by several hands, and though scraped here and there, is quite readable except in those places where the MS has been injured by its service as a book binding. The portions of the romance contained in these two leaves correspond roughly to vv. 1110-1246 and vv. 1791-1927 of *P*. The date of the fragments cannot be fixed with certainty, but may be tentatively placed in the first half of the thirteenth century.⁶

V. The Vatican fragment of *Amadas* was discovered by the late Wendelin Foerster. It is contained in leaves 61 to 68 inclusive of the manuscript volume. Fo. 60 vo. is blank; Fo. 69 ro. begins in the middle of an account about a city "sor Tamise." Apparently the eight leaves of our MS were thrust into this binding by accident. The MS is vellum, the matter being arranged in two columns to the page, of about 34-36 lines to the column. The total 1130 lines correspond roughly to the first 972 lines of *P*.

The dating of *P*, the manuscript which contains the whole of *Amadas et Ydoine*, is not difficult, since we are aided by the testimony of Jehan Madot. The dating of the original composition of the poem, however, is a vexing one, as is usually the case with the works of anonymous poets. The internal material offered by our romance indicates the period of its composition rather than an exact date. The evidence of external material is inconclusive since it is controlled by a document the date of which is likewise only conjectural.

Let us try first to fix the limits of the backward date. The poet refers, among other lovers, to Roland and Aude (v. 5845), but in such an equivocal way that we cannot tell whence he got their story; it may have been from what we know as the *Chanson de Roland*, or it may have been from *Girard de Viane* (first quarter of the 13th c.). The Seven Sages, to whom he refers, as well as Æneas and Lavinia, Floire and Blanceflor, Pyramus and Thisbe, Helen, Paris, Ulysses, Achilles, Polyxena, Tristan and Iseult, do not help us, since the romances in which these personages figure were all composed between 1150 and 1175. He also refers to Alexander; this seems to help a little, for *Li Romans*

⁶G. Paris is of the opinion that this MS was written in England; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 328. See also Foerster, *Z. f. R. Philol.*, XXXVIII, pp. 108 f.

d'Alixandre (disregarding the Alberic and Simon versions) was completed between 1177 and 1190. But in Chapter II we saw that our poet almost certainly knew *Cligès*, composed *ca.* 1170, if not *Yvain*, *ca.* 1173. Can we then place 1175 as the *terminus a quo* for *Amadas*? References within the poem to the Duke of Burgundy or the Count of Nevers, to Châteaudun, Lucca or Aleppo (Halape) lead nowhere. The mention of Salerno and Montpellier is inconclusive, for the former had been famous for centuries as the seat of a faculty of medicine, and the fame of the latter as the seat of such a faculty extended from at least the year 1137, if we may believe the *Vita Adalberti* (vv. 796 f.) even though it was not really chartered as a school of medicine till 1220.

More fruitful seems to be the reference to the "were mortal" (v. 1586) that would have arisen between "doi haut baron" if the king of France had not forbidden a certain tournament in which Amadas had hoped to add to his fame. Indubitably the 'king' is Philippe-Auguste; most certainly also, the 'high baron' who caused him the most trouble was Renaud de Dammartin. Did the poet have in mind one of Renaud's numerous feuds, such as that with the Count of St. Pol or the Bishop of Beauvais? And may the 'mortal war' refer to that concluded by the battle of Bouvines in 1214? If so, we must accept this year as our backward date. Let it be observed that these historical facts are exactly those with which an Anglo-Norman poet would have been familiar.

The forward date depends on external evidence. In Chapter I we saw that our romance was already an old story when Thomas of Hales composed his *Luve Ron* about 1240. But we saw also that our lovers are mentioned in an Anglo-Norman poem of a much earlier date, the *Donnei des Amanz*. At the end of § 104 of his *Littérature française au Moyen Age*, 4th edition, G. Paris dates this document at the end of the 12th century; on p. 328 of his *Mélanges de littérature française* he writes: ". . . le *Donnei des amanz*, oeuvre écrite en Angleterre à la fin du xii^e ou au commencement du xiii^e siècle." The "beginning of the 13th century" is too vague; within what limits shall one construe "beginning"? On p. 334 of the work just cited Paris says: "le roman d'*Amadas* est une oeuvre du xii^e siècle." In the *Littérature française* cited

above he writes, § 66: "*Amadas* (xiii^e siècle . . .)" Which are we to choose? Gröber in his *Grundriss*, II. 1. p. 531, writes: "Der ebenfalls belesene Dichter weist auf Roland und Gavain, auf Tristan (in Berols Tristan, S. 65-66, erscheinen zwar Amadas und Idoine schon selbst als ein Liebespaar . . . trotzdem geht die Amadasdichtung nicht über das 1. Viertel des 13. Jhs. zurück)."7

If we place the composition of *Amadas et Ydoine* at 1220, a convenient number of years after the battle of Bouvines, we shall do violence neither to the opinion of Gröber with regard to the date of that poem, nor to the opinion of Paris with regard to the date of the *Donnei des Amanz*.

The nationality of our poet has been established, in so far as it is possible to establish it. He was a native of that "Anglo-Normandie" assigned by De Boer as the fatherland of the authors of *Piramus et Tisbé* and the *Roman de Troie*.⁸ We have no material to help us guess at his identity. Indications as to his station in life are scanty and uncertain. Probably he was a clerk; that is the obvious conclusion. But if a clerk, he was apparently one who had taken only minor orders. He would have been a temerarious cleric who would have juxtaposed Christian belief and pagan mythology in the persons of St. Peter and the three Fates. Nor is his language that of an enthusiast; such a person would have lingered over the burial of Ydoine and the part played therein by the Church, as well as over the marriage scenes. Nor would a cleric of high dignity have failed to dwell on the subject of the abbey built by the Duke of Burgundy as an asylum for his old age. Indeed, our author is once moved to wonder whether one can believe or not all that clerks tell about religion. If he had been a person of consequence in the order, it is unlikely that he would have doubted the dignity, veracity, and infallibility of his calling. The religious language is entirely conventional. One

⁷ For *Berols Tristan* read *Donnei des Amanz*. It is not in Beroul's poem, but in F. Michel's Introduction to that poem that Amadas and Ydoine appear in his citation of the *Donnei des Amanz* on pp. lxxv-lxxvi. This error has already been pointed out by G. Paris, *Mélanges*, p. 334, note 3.

⁸ Cf. M. De Boer's interesting and valuable Introduction to his edition of *Piramus* in *Verhandelingen der koninkl. Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XII, No. 3, 1911. This introduction does not appear in the "Classiques français du Moyen Age" edition.

determined with certainty. By a comparison of *V* with *P* we are led to assume that the Anglo-Norman original was of considerably greater length than its Picard recension; if this is so, there must have been even more elaboration of the story in *V* than in *P*. For one instance of such an enlargement, compare *P* with lines 270-323 of *V*. But it is fruitless to speculate about a ghost: even if the digressions from the main story in *P* are the interpolations of the scribe, then the scribe is to that extent the author of *P*.

The longest of the passages which seem to reflect the character of the author are those concerning love and women. The analysis of the power of love is curious; it is interesting to find that his contemporary, Gottfried von Strassburg, touched upon the subject in a similar manner.

diu zwei diu wâren verdâht,		D'amer est merveilleuse cose: 291
bekûmbéret beide		Mervelles fait en poi de pose.
mit dem lieben leide		Qui bien veut amors esprouver,
daz solhiu wunder stellet:		Mainte merveille i pu[e]t
daz hónegénde gellet,		trouver, 294
daz süezénde siuret,		Car de chose amere fait miel,
daz touwende fiuret,	11890	Et de douceur fait savoir fiel;
daz senftende smerzet,		Et de caut froit et de froit caut, 297
daz elliu herze entherzet		Et de haut bas et de bas haut,
und al die werlt verkêret.		Et de mal bien et de bien mal,
		De desirier ire mortal, 300
		De caasté ardeur mult aigre,
		Vis coulouré fait taint et maigre,
		Et fait amer çou ke on het. ⁹

Possibly the author has only elaborated a suggestion found in *Cligès*:

Car tuit autre mal sont amer	3101
Fors seul celui qui vient d'amer;	
Mais cil retorne s'amertume	
An douçor et an soatume	
Et sovant retorne a contreire. ¹⁰	

⁹ One is reminded of Marbodius' "Femina dulce malum pariter *favus atque venenum*."

¹⁰ See also vv. 3070 ff. and *Lancelot*, vv. 440-4401. We have likewise Phædra's testimony that love is "a bitter and a sweet thing too;" cf. *Hippolytus*, 347 f.; see also *Iph. in Aul.* 544 f., *Medea*, 627-42; Barbazan-Méon, *Fabliaux*, II, p. 213.

Between the two of them they started the ball a-rolling. In one of those youthful, foolish love-ditties of his we find that Gower has given Love still other powers :

De vrai honour est amour tout le chief,
 Qui le corage et le memorial
 Des bones mours fait garder sanz meschief :
 De l'averous il fait franc et loial,
 Et de vilein courtois et liberal,
 Et de couard plus fiers qe n'est leoun ;
 De l'envious il hoste tout le mal :
 Amour s'acorde a nature et resoun.
 Ceo q'ainz fuist aspre, amour le tempre suef,
 Si fait de guerre pes, et est causal
 Dont toute vie honeste ad soun relief.¹¹

In spite of the wonderful properties attributed by our author to love in general, the kind of love which gains his approval has nothing in it of marvel or enchantment. "Natureument leur est venus," he says of Amadas and Ydoine,

Cis dous fus es cuers et creüs. 1182
 Ne leur vint pas pour manger fruit,
 Ne pour boire, ce sachiés tuit,
 Por coi li pluseur destruit sont 1185
 Qui ça arrieres amé ont.

Indeed, that love must be natural and loyal and pure is a fact on which the author insists throughout the romance. His purpose in this matter will be examined in Chapter VII.

"He has no high opinion of women," says Gröber. If this is so, he shows himself a man of his own time. But whatever his opinion of 'woman' may have been, it will be shown later that his ideal of womanhood was very high indeed. His diatribe against women is in the accepted style; it will be interesting to compare a passage from Gottfried's *Tristan* therewith.

und doch swar man'z getribe 17875
 huot' ist verlorn an wibe,
 .Signor, jel di, bien ai garant
 De feme, ce sachiés tuit bien,
 Qu'il n'a si pourveüe rien 3570
 Ou mont quant ele veut tricier.
 Puis qu'el se paine de boiser,
 Ne la puet nus garder a droit, 3573

¹¹ Gower, *Works*, ed. Macaulay, vol. I, Balade No. L.

darumbe daz dehein man
 der übelen niht gehüeten kan.
 der guoten darf man hüeten niht,
 sie hüetet selbe, also man
 geht: 17880
 und swer ir hüetet über daz,
 entriuwen, der ist gehaz,
 der wil daz wip verkêren
 an lîbe und an den êren

 und waetlich alsô sêre,
 daz sie sich niemer mêre
 sô verrihtet an ir site,

 Der ouch verbieten möhte lân,
 ich waene, ez waere wol
 getân: 17930
 daz birt an wiben manegen spot.

Tant la sace metre en destroit.
 Tant durement est decevans,
 Et angousseuse et souduians 3576
 Vers houme qu'ele veut deçoivre
 Et engignier; si bel l'enboivre
 Et afole que le plus sage 3579
 Et qui a plus soutil corage
 Grieve souvent en mainte guise
 Par traison et par faintise; 3582
 Nule riens est de sa voisdie.
 Ne sai, certes, que plus vous die,
 Mais nule n'est sans dece-
 vance. 3585
 Toutes sevent de l'ingremance,
 Et les engiens dont abellissent
 Vers ceus que trecent et
 traissent. 3588
 Mors est qui el voelent deçoivre,
 Que nus ne s'en puet aperçoivre,
 Si se sevent couvrir et
 faindre; 3591
 Muer sevent, sauder et fraindre,
 Ortie traire avant pour rose.
 Signor, sachiés bien une cose: 3594
 Toute la plus fole est trop sage
 De pourquerre anui et damage,
 Et la plus sage trop voisieuse 3597
 Et decevans et angousseuse.
 Si sont triceresses et faintes
 Que ja nul jor n'erent
 ataintes. 3600
 Volages sont et poi estavles,
 Et sans mesure en fin canjavles.
 Ne sai dont ce vient ne que
 doit: 3603
 Toute la plus fole deçoit
 Un sage home par tricerie:
 Flos est qui e[n] nule se fie, 3606
 Qu'il n'i a point de loiauté;
 A la gile ont tot atorné
 La francise et la simpleté 3609
 Dont orent ja los de bonté.
 En mil n'en a une enterine.
 L'amors de toute la plus fine 3612
 Puet jugier a fause et a fainte
 Cil qui n'a esprouvee mainte.

die frouwen die der arte sint
 die sint ir muoter Èven kint;
 diu brach daz erste verbot: 17939

 daz brach sie und brach gotes gebot
 und verlôs sich selben unde
 got. 17950
 ez ist ouch noch min vester wân,
 Ève enhæte ez nie gatân,
 und enwære ez ir verboten nie.

 Sus sint sie alle Èven kint, 17865
 diu nâch der Èven gëvet sint.

 und sit in daz von arte kumet 17971
 und ez diu nature an in frumet,
 diu sich ez danne enthaben kan,
 dâ lit vil lobes und èren an.
 wan swelh wip tugendet wider ir
 art,
 diu gerne wider ir art bewart
 ir lop, ir ère unde ir lip,
 diu ist niwan mit namen ein wip
 und ist ein man mit muote.

Venimeuse est la plus pasivle, 3615
 Que nule n'est sans art orible.
 Felenesses sont sans raison,
 Plaines d'engin, de traison, 3618
 Esmouvans d'ire et de contraire,
 Toutes sont mais de mal affaire
 Pieça que teles estre soelent 3621
 Et sont encor la u mal voelent.

.
 Encontre raison et droiture
 C'est de feme droite nature 3630
 D'ouvrer tos jors contre raison;
 Plusors sevent bien l'ocoison:
 D'Evain leur vient que Dix
 forma; 3633
 Ceste nature leur donna:
 Contre raison primes forfist
 De [ce] que Dix li contredist; 3636
 Contre raison ouvra adés,
 Et ses filles si font après.¹²
 Pour ce seroit fort a trouver 3639
 Feme qui ne vauroit ouvrer
 Encontre raison et droiture,
 Car tout ce leur vient de
 nature. 3642
 Pour ce si est de feme fine,
 Boine, loial et enterine,
 Une des mervelles du mont, 3645
 Que mult tres peu de tex en sont.¹³

This seems to us to be a sufficient inculcation of the "beau sexe," but it did not satisfy the author; he devotes still thirty lines

¹² Cf. Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. T. Wright, 1850, Distinc. IV, cap. iii, p. 144: "Prima primi uxor Adæ, post primam hominis creationem, primo peccato prima solvit jejunia contra præceptum Domini. Parentavit inobedientia, quæ citra mundi terminum non absistet expugnare fœminas, et sint semper indefessæ trahere in consequentiam, quod a prima matre sua traxerunt."

¹³ Walter Map, *op. cit.*, p. 144-145: "Optima fœmina, quæ rarior est phœnice, amari non potest sine amaritudine metus et sollicitudinis et frequentis infortunii."

(vv. 7037-66) to a denunciation of the trickery and deceit of women. Finally he remembers that his heroine does not belong to the class of women he is stigmatising, and he makes a *volte face*; moreover, he realizes that it is impolitic to take up arms against them,

Que bien voi qu'eles ont conquis	7074
Trestout le mont a leur voloir,	
Sans contredit, par leur savoir;	
Tout le mont ont en lor bandon,	7077
Si me tenroit on a bricon	
S'encontre eles prenoie estrif,	
Qu'il me feroient tost restif.	7080

But when one does find a good woman, though she be rarer than the phoenix, there is nothing in the world that may compare with her; Gottfried agrees.

Ezn est al der dinge dehein,		En cest mont n'a si grant doçor	
der ie diu súnné beschein,	18020	Com en feme quant veut le bien,	
sô rehte saelic sô daz wip,		Ja ne verrés si france rien.	7092
diu ir leben unde ir lip		S'as uns est fiere et orgilleuse,	
an die mâze verlât;		As autres est douce et piteuse.	
sich selben rehte liebe hât;		Se mult set mal engin et art,	7095
und al die wile und al die frist,		Dou bien ira de l'autre part:	
daz si ir selber liep ist,		Mais li malvais nel dient pas.	
sô ist der billich ouch derbi			
daz si ál de werlde liep si.		Une boine cent homes vaut:	
ein wip, diu wider ir libe tuot,		S'amistiés a nul jor ne faut	3648
diu sô gesetzet ir muot,	18030	Ne ne cange pour nul destroit;	
daz si ir selber ist gehaz,		Ains fait tous jors que faire doit.	
wer sol die minnen über daz?		De ces boines est Ydoine une:	3651
		Hors est de la fausse commune.	

Aside from personal conviction, there was sufficient "authority" for attacking women. There was the whole sixth book of Juvenal's satires, the *Aureolus liber de nuptiis* partly preserved in John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus*, and the famous letter of Valerius to Rufus,—variously attributed to St Jerome and to Walter Map,—on the subject *de non ducenda uxore*. But the author of *Amadas* needed none of these models, and he probably used none of them; his remarks have the appearance of personal conviction and experience.

What the author has said about women shows that he was an idealist. Elsewhere we see that he possessed a considerable fund of prosaic commonsense.

Fol hardement ne loc je mie,	6471
Ains le tieng a mult grant folie.	
Et nonpourquant ç'avient sovent	
Qu'uns hom une cose emprent	6474
En une eure a mult fort mescief	
Et mult est a atendre grief;	
Ja ne soit ce selonc raison	6477
Ne l'en avient riens se bien non.	
Qui hardis est et bien enprent,	
Si l'en avient grans biens sovent,	6480
Et plus li torne, au mien avis,	
A grant hounour et a grant pris	
Que au mauvais qui n'oseroit	6483
Bien enprendre, ne ne savroit.	
De ce se tient en fin a mort	
Dont il aroit joie et confort	6486
S'il s'osoit metre en aventure.	
Mais de trestout çou n'a il cure,	
Car il n'est si preus ne osés	6489
Qu'il face dont soit honérés;	
Ains quide pour voir li mauvais	
Morir en fin sans nul relais	6492
De ce dont il avient sovent	
Honneur a cil qui bien enprent	
Un pesant fais, ce m'est avis,	6495
Dont il est renoumés toudis.	
Pour ce fu sages qui ce dist	
Premierement et qui escrist:	6498
'De grans enprises finement	
Avient maint grant bien sovent.'	

In several other places also the author points his remarks with proverbs, the source of which is not always so easily recognizable as the following:

Li sages dist en son respit:	
'De fol home sont fol li dit.'	6000

The following is probably a proverb of popular rather than literary origin:

Mais mult l'avés oï souvent
 En reprouvier dire a la gent :
 'Fort cose a u faire l'estuet'; 464

and this one seems to come from the same source :

Car on seut dire en reprovier
 Que on troeve mult poi mollier 7560
 Puis k'ele a license et pooir
 De faire a kieus tot son voloir
 Qu'ele ne se tienge au pis. 7563

Like many a thinking man of his own time and others, the poet is impressed by the vanity of human wishes, and occasionally interrupts his narrative to make moral observations.

Si ont laissie leur dolor 5361
 Car ce ravient au cief du tor
 D'amies et de bons amis.
 Tant com li hom est sains et vis 5364
 Si soit amés com estre doit,
 Et quant est mors, o les mors soit
 Remés, car el estre ne puet : 5367
 Par estavoir faire l'estuet.
 Li vis au vif, li mors au mort.
 Par ce viennent tuit li deport 5370
 De cest monde, ce m'est avis,
 Et firent et feront toudis.

Boëthius has found a disciple in him :

Ha ! Dius, biaux pere glorieus, 7407
 Com est cis siecles per[i]lleus !
 Car a cascun et a cascune
 Avient ensi com veut Fortune, 7410
 U boine u mauvaise aventure.
 Fols est qui trop s'i asseüre;
 En rikece d'umaine vie 7413
 Faus est qui trop s'i glorefie
 Et cil qui trop s'i desespoire.

It will not be amiss to recapitulate here the sources of our author's learning. By direct evidence we know that he was acquainted with the *Chanson de Roland* or at least some poem dealing with Roland and Aude; with the *Roman de Troie*; with *Énéas* or the *Æneid*; with *Floire et Blanceflor*, *Piramus et Tisbé*, the *Sept Sages*, *Tristan*, and *Li Romans d'Alixandre*. For reasons

already stated we assign to him a knowledge of *Erec*, *Cligès*, *Yvain*, possibly *Lancelot* and *Eracle*. It was suggested that he knew the *Vita Merlini* both because of its treatment of madness, and because the lover's madness is healed (or at least assuaged) by the name of his lady. As a cleric he would have been familiar with both the profane and the spiritual learning taught in the schools; Ovid, Virgil, Boëthius he must certainly have known; in the course of his studies he could hardly have avoided Macrobius and Martianus Capella, and he may have known others whose works, either in Latin or French, dealt with dreams and personifications, such as Ennodius, Avitus, Isidore, Hugues de St. Victor, and Le Renclus de Molliens.¹⁴ His use of the Bible cannot be stated with exactness; he may have culled some proverbs from either the Vulgate or from the translation of the *Book of Proverbs* (between 1135-54) by Samson de Nanteuil, a countryman of his. He may have known the *De Nugis Curialium* of Walter Map (1140-1210) or the *Polycraticus* of John of Salisbury (1120-80). His library seems to have been ill furnished with the vernacular literature of his own country, which had already produced a few works of note other than Thomas' *Tristan*.

But if England's contribution to polite literature in this period was scanty, our author was one of those who set about to supply the deficiency. *Amadas et Ydoine* may be construed as an attempt on the part of an English writer to equal in England the ideal of French poetry; it is the realization of the struggle to make England's literature what French literature had long been—refined and polite. English romance writers had been inclined to adopt only the sensational and the adventurous from their French models, and, with the exception of *Tristan*, to pay slight attention to sentiment. In *Amadas et Ydoine*, however, England's mediaeval literature was given a romance that not only stood on a par with the highest ideal of French literature of the day, but, in the matter of theme, added, as will be shown later, something new, valuable, and distinctly Anglo-Saxon to the prevailing conception of the right relation between the sexes. Chrétien's pious wish that "clergie" might remain in France was not to be granted, for already writers across the Channel were beginning to dispute her century-long literary hegemony.

¹⁴ *Supra*, pp. 70-71.

CHAPTER VII

MEDIAEVAL LIFE

A quotation from Taine's *Introduction à l'histoire de la littérature anglaise* may serve to define the purpose of this chapter :

Lorsque vous tournez les grandes pages rigides d'un in-folio, les feuilles jaunies d'un manuscrit, bref un poème, un code, un symbole de foi, quelle est votre première remarque? C'est qu'il n'est point fait tout seul. Il n'est qu'un moule, pareil à une coquille fossile, une empreinte, pareille à l'une de ces formes déposées dans la pierre par un animal qui a vécu et qui a péri. Sous la coquille, il y avait un animal, et, sous le document il y avait un homme. Pourquoi étudiez-vous la coquille, sinon pour vous figurer l'animal? De la même façon vous n'étudiez le document qu'afin de connaître l'homme; la coquille et le document sont des débris morts, et ne valent que comme indices de l'être entier et vivant. C'est jusqu' à cet être qu'il faut arriver; c'est lui qu'il faut tâcher de reconstruire.

The 'reconstruction' of the men and manners of any age is a task that can probably never be done perfectly. Yet we know a great deal of Grecian and Egyptian antiquity by virtue of the monuments of their civilization painstakingly brought to view. Likewise, we may gain some knowledge of the social habits of our forefathers from the monuments which have come down to us from former ages. As regards the mediaeval period, that knowledge must be gleaned from the few household instruments that have found a place in museums, from illustrations and miniatures in manuscripts and books of hours, from laws and legal documents, and especially from the testimony of the literature of the time.

For a complete history of the life of the Middle Ages, many and various sources would have to be consulted, and such a complete reconstruction is not intended here. The present purpose is merely to give a chapter, inevitably faulty, on the history of manners as they are incompletely portrayed in one romance.

1. *The Feudal System*

Probably we cannot fully appreciate the mediaeval system of the three estates. That product of Feudalism, in its external manifestations at least, has all but passed away in these days of democracy. Whatever the third estate contributed to civilization in succeeding centuries,—and it was a mighty contribution,—in the heyday of the Middle Ages it was ignored by the superior classes, clergy and nobility, and we shall have to ignore it here. The nobility considered themselves, naturally, the salt of the earth, albeit Jacques de Vitry was inclined to dispute the point with them. Ydoine's father, the Duke of Burgundy, was an excellent example of the average baron of the post-chanson-de-geste type.

Vous di que ja fu en Bourgongne	24
Uns dus de mult noble parage:	
A grant hounour maintint barnage	
Prouëce, largece et bonté.	27
Il n'ot au jour si renoumé,	
Mien ensient, un tout seul homme,	
Se rois ne fu, juskes a Roume.	30
Tuit si proçain, tuit si voisin	
Estoient tuit a lui enclin,	
Que par amor, ke par doutanche,	33
Car mult estoit de grant poissance.	

The picture is completed by the description of Amadas on his succession to the Duchy:

Si vaillant duc n'i ot ainc mes,	
Ne qui si vigereusement	
Tenist en pais la povre gent,	7896
Ne qui chevaliers tant amast,	
Ne plus largement leur donast.	

Like King Arthur and many another, the Duke was accustomed to hold feasts on certain days of the year, and to these banquets all his dependents were invited and honorably entertained.

Venu i sont tuit li baron	
De la contree et du pais.	195
En la sale de marbre bis	
Fu la feste faite le jour,	

De service, de grant hounour,	198
De riches boires, de viande	
Selonc çou que cascuns demande.	
Cascuns i fu mult ricement	201
Servis selonc le sien talent.	
Li dus fu mult joians et liés	
De ses houmes qu'il vit haitiés.	204

This important duke boasted more luxury than most, it seems, for not every castle had a "sale de marbre bis." On this particular occasion it was the barons of the country who were the guests; the ordinary habitués of the signorial court were people of lesser quality,—

Cil de la court, petit et grant,	
Chevalier, vallet et serjant,	603
Les dames et les damoiseles,	
Les meschines et les puceles.	

These were the persons of the Duke's immediate household. Above them all stood his right-hand man, the seneschal, "Preu et vaillant et mult loial," and not, in this case, of the temper of Wikle or Hardre. As often happened, the seneschal was of no mean social position himself, for,

Etoit rices et noble ber :	
Bourgongne ot toute a gouverner.	42
Ne tenoit pas toute s'ouneur	
Dou duc, que plus tint a signeur :	
D'autres signeurs terre tenoit.	45
A mervelles riches estoit.	
Il ert sires de cinc castiaus	
Mult bien seans et fors et beaus ;	48
N'ert pas mains gentix de parage,	
Ne mains vaillans de vasselage	
Dou duc, fors que tant seulement	51
Que ses hom ert tout ligement.	

According to the feudal system there was no anomaly in the fact that such a rich and noble gentleman should occupy the office of seneschal; indeed, great lords were often the vassals of those of lesser quality; Philippe-Auguste himself was the vassal of the Prieuré of Saint-Denis-de-la-Chartre, upon whose land he had constructed the donjon of the Louvre.¹

¹ Cf. R. Rosières, *La société française au Moyen Age*, I, p. 29.

If Amadas' father was the lord of five castles, Amadas himself was even richer when he succeeded to a County Palatinate; the list of his holdings well illustrates the wealth of the average baron of the time.

Ore est de grant tere casés	
Amadas et de grans hounors,	
De cités, de castiaus, de bors,	7380
Car li dus tous les fiés li rent,	
Et li rois de France ensement,	
De quoi il tient rices castiaus,	7383
Viles plusors et bors mult biaux.	

Of the construction of the castle and its administration little is said in *Amadas et Ydoine*. We know only that the Duke had a marble hall, and that on feast days his daughter had a place where she could hold her court apart from the others (vv. 215-216). There were also porters and watchmen, we know. One of these had profited too much from his master's bounty, so much that it caused him to neglect his duty. But the mad Amadas had reason to thank him, for as he wandered about the castle grounds he found that

La porte toute overte estoit,	2505
Et cil qui garder le devoit,	
Se dormoit et gisoit souvins:	
Trop avoit beü de fors vins.	2508

Among other things it was the duty of the feudal vassal to give his lord counsel on demand. Nominally the head and master of his fief, it was still temerarious, if we may believe *Amadas*, or at least ill-advised, for the lord to proceed in any undertaking against or without the counsel of his liegemen. Ydoine proceeds in conformity with the custom when she calls her men about her to ask their advice whether or not Amadas shall be invited to accompany her on her return from Rome.

Le jour a parlement privé	
La contesse ses cevaliers	3909
Et ses plus privés consilliers	
A une part a trait, si dist:	
"Signeur, entendés un petit,	3912
Puis me dirés vostre talent	
De ce dont conseil vous demant,	
Car vous m'avés a consillier.	3915

Nor is it without duly considering the matter in privy council that the Duke is able to decide on the divorce of Ydoine from the Count of Nevers (vv. 7303 f.), nor will Ydoine consent to take a husband without the advice of the Duke's barons:

Ains voel selonc conseil ouvrer.
 Faites priveement mander
 Des plus sages de vostre honor, 7509
 Soient baron ou vavassour;
 Ce qu'il m'en loeront ferai.
 Selonc leur loement prendrai
 Signeur, et a vostre plaisir.

 Assamblé sont tuit li baron 7531
 A court por icele ocoison.

It is true that here, as elsewhere, Ydoine is careful to act in such a way that her personal reputation shall not be impaired, but it is also true that she would hardly have been able to marry without the consent of the privy council.

2. *The Education of Youth*

The heroines and heroes of romance might have put some of our modern youth to the blush in the matter of education. In addition to being a master in the arts of hunting and hawking, Tristan was not only an accomplished musician, but skilled in languages to a degree that would have satisfied even Count Ludovico da Canossa; Orlando and Amadis were likewise well instructed in this respect. Damsels were taught other things besides spinning, sewing, and embroidery. Felice, the lady of Guy of Warwick, was well instructed in arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy.² Often, too, ladies were physicians, and were not seldom credited with knowledge of both black and white magic. Ydoine was not one of such, for she had to hire witches to her need, but she understood more homely arts, for Amadas, after his return to reason,

Cemise et braies blances a 3753
 Qu' Idoine couisi et tailla,
 De blanc cainsil bien deliié.

² MS Edwardes, vv. 64-68, printed in part by J. A. Herbert, *Rom.* XXXV, pp. 74 f.

Another example of her handiwork with which she provides him when he sets out on his wandering novitiate in arms is an ensign of fine silk "bien ouvree d'oeuvre subtil."³

Such humble occupations as sewing were not disdained in those days by ladies of high rank, and Ydoine was of very high rank indeed, for,

Par soi tenoit grant cort pleniére
Com pucele de sa maniere
Qui tant estoit riche et proisie; 159
De chevaliers a grant maisnie,
De valles et de damoisiaus
Qui servent pour adous noviaus. 162

It goes almost without saying that a high-born damsel should possess the virtues of generosity and courtesy, nor was Ydoine lacking in this respect; she was renowned not only for beauty, but for "bonté" and "franchise" (v. 130); she was of

Chiere courtoise et envoisie,
Envers tous frans homes haitie. 152

Amadas, likewise, was a well-mannered youth:

Humles ert mult et amiavles, 69
Frans et courtois et serviçavles,
Et mult amés de chevaliers,
Car tous les servoit volentiers. 72

Like Tristan, he was well instructed in all that pertained to hunting and hawking:

De tous deduis, de chiens, d'oisiaus,
Fu si apris li damoisiaus 66
Que nus avant lui n'en savoit.
Sour tous enfans sages estoit.

It was not to be expected that such a youth would shame his training when he came to man's estate. We have already seen that when he succeeded to the duchy, he honored chevaliers and protected the poor; in so doing he only fulfilled the promise of his early youth. When he has conquered a "maisnie" for himself,

³ Such love-tokens are common in the romances; cf. *Erec*, 2135 f.; *Alixandre*, p. 122; *Troie*, 15102; *Perceval*, 13594; *Chatelain de Couci*, 702 f.; *Orson*, 1377.

. . . il leur est et dous et pieus
 Et amiavles en tous lieux, 1668
 De bel apel, de dous respons,
 Et larges de ses rices dons.
 Pour ce l'aime cascuns par soi 1671
 A un endroit tant comme soi.

In those days the business of life was no less serious than it is now, and a strenuous training was necessary in preparation for it. The business of the noble was war, and he had to know how to wage it. After the youth had been knighted and had definitely entered upon his career, he followed it with an exemplary singleness of purpose. When there were no wars, there were plenty of tournaments whereby the noble might drive away ennui and keep in practice. "A knight cannot shine in war if he has not been prepared for it in the tournaments," says Roger of Hoveden. The chronicler might have added that he could not even become a knight without being well practised in the use of arms. For the young bachelors the "buhurt" and the "quintaine" were not only pastimes to which they were passionately addicted,—they were necessities of the profession of arms. Amadas took part in them together with other youths of his age—except when he was languishing on a sick-bed.

Ensi avint qu'a un haut jour,
 En la court le duc son signour,
 Doi fil as barons du païs, 840
 De haut parage et de haut pris,
 Avoient pris sus le gravier
 Un bouhourdeïç mult plenier. 843
 De deus pars i ot compaignons
 Mandés et lonc et pres semons
 De tout le mix de sa contree. 846
 Apres mangier, la relevee,
 Pour bouhourder sont apresté
 Et issent hors de la cité. 849
 Si sont venu dehors au plain
 Plus de cent, n'i a vilain,
 Ains sont tuit gentil damoiseil, 852
 Bien bouhourdant et preu et bel.

When the youth had reached a suitable age,—most of the heroes of romance are between fifteen and seventeen years old,—

he was admitted to the order of knighthood. Amadas achieved that honor when he was seventeen and a half years old. At the request of his father and his friends, the Duke

Li çainst l'espee, et pour s'amour
Cent damoisiaus, preus et vaillans,
Douna armes et çai[n]st les brans; 1332
Et si tient cort rice et houneste,
Et fist mult joie et grant feste.

Whether Amadas took a bath, as was customary,⁴ and performed the usual vigil of arms, does not appear. What is more important is to note that the signal and rare honor is done him of knighting a great number of other youths at the same time that he received his arms.⁵

Knightings were costly, as the third estate well knew, and as may be judged from the fact that the Duke held a "grant feste." It was his duty to do that much to honor Amadas. But the new knight also had certain duties to perform:

A l'ostel vait apres mangier 1344
Ou il se fait a son plaisir
Et bel et ricement servir.
Mult largement dounes et despent 1347
Si que tuit cil, communaument,
Qui de riens l'aiment en sont liet.

It was now incumbent upon the new chevalier "pris pour-cachier et querre." We learn from Ydoine that while he is so engaged he must be generous

et frans et prous, 1251
Li vostres soit dounés a tous.

Nor is this the entire list of a good knight's virtues, nor the entire extent of her counsel:

Or vous penés d'estre amiables 1227
Et enseigniés et serviçables,
Frans et courtois a toute gent,
Et preus et larges ensement, 1230
Dous et gentix a acointier,
Ne ja n'amés faus losengier.

⁴ Cf. *Cligès*, vv. 1142 ff.

⁵ Cf. *Durmart*, ed. Stengel, vv. 490-491.

Orguel, sourfait ne desmesure	1233
Ne faites ja, n'en aiés cure ;	
Laissiés trestoute vilounie,	
Encriemeté, tout estoutie ;	1236
Soiés de haut cuer et de sage,	
Car mult estes de haut parage.	

Amadas certainly profited by her advice, for after three years of wandering he was so renowned

De sens et de cevalerie,	
D'enseignement, de courtoisie,	1422
Et de francise et de largece,	
Que tous li mons i prent exemple.	1426

3. Tournaments

Amadas' period of wandering in search of adventure was an important part of his chivalric apprenticeship. It was a test to prove his mettle as a knight,—as well as his worth as a lover,—for, as Roger of Hoveden says, in order to be a good warrior a knight “must have seen his own blood flow, have had his teeth crackle under the blow of his adversary, have been dashed to the earth with such force as to feel the weight of his foe, and, disarmed twenty times, he must twenty times have retrieved his failures, more set than ever upon the combat. Thus will he be able to confront actual war with the hope of being victorious.” Accordingly Amadas went into all countries that were troubled by wars, and wherever there was hope of engaging in a tournament. There was not a country as far as the Gates of Spain where he had not overthrown knight or lord,—and all for the sake of his lady. It is for her also that he wishes to gain honor in the tournament held near Lucca. Certainly Ydoine had no reason to complain of him, for after this event the spectators

Le pris li ont communement	
Douné de cest tornoiement,	4556

after having marvelled at length over his mighty deeds. “Throughout the city and its environs the fame of him was mighty,” says the poet; doubtless it continued to live for some

time, as a sirventes of Guiraut de Bornelh instructs us was sometimes the case :

Vos vitz torneis mandar
E segre 'ls gen garnitz,
E pois dels melhs feritz
Una sazo parlar.*

Invitations to attend a tournament were made by means of letter. Under the year 1215 Matthew Paris gives an interesting example of such a letter of invitation from one Robert to Wilhelmus Albineto. "Barones interea qui fuerunt in urbe Londoniarum, quasi toto negotio completo, condixerunt inter se, ut apud Stanford ad hastiludium convenirent; unde Willelmo de Albineto viro nobili et per omnia laudabili sub hac forma literas direxerunt :

'Robertus filius Walteri, marescallus exercitus Dei et sanctae ecclesiae, et alii magnates ejusden exercitus, nobili viro W[illelmo] de Albineto salutem. Bene scitis, quam magnum commodum sit vobis et nobis omnibus, servare civitatem Londoniarum, quae est receptaculum nostrum; et quantum dedecus esset et damnum nobis, si per defectum nostrum eam amitteremus. Sciatis etiam certissime, quod praemuniti fuimus quod quidam sunt, qui nihil aliud expectant, nisi quod recessissimus a civitate praedicta, ut ita subito eam possent occupare. Et ideo per commune consilium prolongavimus torneamentum, quod captum fuit apud Stanford, die Lunae proxima post octabas praedictas. Erit autem torneamentum juxta Londonias in bruera de Stanes et villam de Hundeslawe; et hoc fecimus propter securitatem nostram et civitatis praedictae. Et ideo mandamus vobis et rogamus diligenter, quod ad torneamentum praedictum cum equis et armis ita provide veniatis, quod honorem inde habeatis. Qui melius ibi faciet, habebit ursum [!] quem domina quaedam mittet ad torneamentum. Valet.'

"Talibus," comments the learned chronicler, "frivolis et otiosis actibus indulserunt, nescientes laqueos subdolos sibi praeparari."

Such letters of invitation were sent to all those who were expected or desired to take part in the tournament. He who delivered the invitations for the tourney in which Amadas engaged near Lucca must have been a very distinguished person, or in the service of a very noble lord, for only such were permitted to ride on horseback :

* A. Kolsen, *Sämtliche Lieder des Trobadors Guiraut de Bornelh*, I, p. 412, No. 65.

† Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, II, 614 f.

Si voient devant eus passer
 La maistre rue et avaler 4050
 Un garçon mult bien atourné
 Qui porte un estucel doré
 A un liën a sa çainture 4053
 Par devant eus, grant aleüre,
 Com cil qui a besoing mult grant,
 Passe la rue an avalant, 4056
 Et s'en passe outre le grant trot
 Que il onques ne leur dist mot.

It was in his little gilded box that he carried his "letres"; that was the usual place for them, though sometimes they were carried in a "baril" or simply stuck into the girdle.

Garin, Ydoine's messenger, is not so fortunate, for he has to go on foot. He appears before Amadas carrying in his hand

un bastoncel
 De couleurs et d'or trop bien paint;
 Et au tissu qu'il avoit çaint,
 Ot une boiste de bries plaine.

The gaily decorated wand was the sign of his office as messenger.

Messengers were customarily rewarded for their pains, and if the news was good the gift was often very handsome. Such was not the case with Garin on this occasion, for he got something which he would have been glad to do without. But Amadas is more reasonable with the messenger of the "haut home," for he gives him a cup of wine for his pains; since he was on the sufferance of the host and of Ydoine, he was hardly in a position to give more.

In the Middle Ages horses were a prime necessity to the fighting man, and he set great store by good horseflesh. What was then considered as a good horse may be judged from the description given of the palfrey which Amadas buys for Ydoine.

Ne demoura c'un seul petit
 C'un palefroï revit passer
 Qui bien faisoit a regarder, 4176
 Car il n'estoit mie tondus,
 Ains ert trop cointement crenus.
 Grans ert et biaux, ce m'est avis, 4179
 N'ot si bel en trente pais;
 De cors, de membres ne de teste

Ne vit nus hom si gente beste	4182
Ne qui mix doi[e] avoir bon los	
De bonté, que mult a le dos	
Combre a mesure pour porter	4185
La sele a droit sans remuer ;	
Costes et flans, crupe a raison,	
Large et lee sans mesprison,	4188
Ample narine, les oels gros,	
Nes ert de gale et de souros ;	
De blancheur resanbloit ermine.	4191
En portraiture n'en cortine	
N'en fu ainc nus de sa biauté,	
Si vous di bien la verité.	4194
Viste ciere ot comme d'orguel,	
Col enarcié et large entroel.	
La rue fait toute fremir	4197
Et des cailliaus le fu salir,	
Tant par va tost a desmesure,	
Si bel, si souef l'ambleüre,	4200
C'autres cevaus pas ne peüst	
Si aler se si fait ne fust.	

The description of Amadas' "destrier" is not so lengthy, but it gives us important details for the picture of the mediaeval horse.

Il sist sour le corant destrier	
Qu'acata li ostes courtois :	
Plus blans est tous que nule no[i]s	4266
Fors que le pié destre avoit brun.	
D'un mout delié ysenbrun	
D'Alemaigne, noir et deugié	4269
A fleurs a foellies detrencié	
Est couvers li cevaus de pris.	
Les trenceüres, ce m'est vis	4272
Furent larges pour la blancor	
Veoir dou cheval missaudor.	

Whether the host really paid a thousand louis d'or for him, as the last word, taken literally, would seem to indicate, cannot be proved, but he probably paid a sufficiently high price. In an age when horses were being constantly slaughtered in battle, they were the subject of constant demand, and so the price required for them was high. In *Perceval* (v. 2635), we read of a horse that was worth a thousand marks, and of another (v. 40956) that was

worth a thousand livres. The unromantic chronicles of the time show us that these prices were not poetic fictions.

4. *Travel*

The warrior's mount was exclusively the horse. The mule, probably no less expensive, was widely used for traveling purposes. A mule was a perfectly appropriate beast upon which to make a journey, but was hardly a fitting mount for a knight bent on war or tournament. Ydoine might have ridden to Rome on a mule, but as it happened, she made her journey on the back of a horse. As she was returning from Rome we read that

Par la rice resne la tient
Un viaus chevaliers qui la guie, 4619

and later that the fairy knight bore to earth "Et palefroi et cevalier" (v. 4639).

In the thirteenth century preparations for making a long journey differed little from those of today. When Ydoine has gained permission from the Count to set out on her pilgrimage,

Mult bien s'appareille et atorne;
Coffres et bouges fait emplir,
D'or et d'argent mult bien garnir, 3000
.
Son oirre atorne com ains puet,
Car li cuens, quant que li estuet, 3006
Li troeve assés et ricement,
Dras et chevaus, or et argent.⁸

The Count also provides her with an escort of five knights, for travel for single ladies (and single men too, for that matter) with plenty of treasure on hand, was not the safest thing in the world; the fear of robbers is illustrated in vv. 6809-6834.

However mean, disagreeable, and untrustworthy hotels may have been in other parts of the world, in the rich and proud Lucca of the early thirteenth century they were handsome enough; as Garin, Ydoine's man, rides into the city,

⁸ Cf. *Cligès*, vv. 182 f.; 228-234.

A destre une grant maison voit	2664
A rices portes a pourpris	
Tout entour clos de marbre bis.	
Mult i a rices mansions	2667
De cambres et d'autres maisons.	

In another respect also the hotels of Lucca presented an anomaly to hostels not only of that day but of this: one of them, at least, had an honest and courteous proprietor (vv. 2687, 2692 ff.).

Garin preceded his lady in the capacity of chamberlain,

Et si va l'ostel prendre avant	
Comme maistres et cambrelens	3027
Et com cil qui est de grant sens.	
Coffres et bouges et somiers,	
Et dras et vassiaus et deniers	3031
Maine avant li com faire doit.	

When the proprietor learns of the noble lady who is to take lodging with him,

L'ostel mult ricement atourne	
Et les cambres mult bien aourne	
Contre Ydoine qui est venue	3045
Et en la sale descendue.	
.	
Et sa feme prie, la bele,	
Que la contesse maint amont	3051
Es cambres qui ricement sont	
Atournees de dras de soie.	

Interesting as a note on the architecture of the time is the information that this exemplary hotel possessed an oriel.

En la grant rue, contre la voie,	3054
Est un soliers, un apentis,	
Et de dossiaus et de tapis	
Atornés si que d'un estal	3057
Par la cité, amont, aval,	
Qui a la fenestre s'acoute	
Bien puet veoir la vile toute.	3060

The hotel at which Amadas in his turn is lodged is no less excellent than that of Ydoine; indeed, he could not have had a better one, for it was the "hostel Saint Julien," the "gode herber-

jour" and patron saint of travellers. There he is bathed, clothed, and provided with food and drink. Later, a rich bed is prepared for him, not under the stars, as Schultz supposes,⁹ but under a roof, as the following lines show :

D'iloec bien loing en la cité
A un hostel priveement,
Bien aaisié et loing de gent; 3666
Si fist un baing mult tost tempre
Et Amadas dedens entrer.

Que vous en diroie je plus? 3687
Or est du tot si au desus
Qu'il ne se doit plaindre de rien :
Il a l'ostel Saint Julien. 3690

5. Food

It happened, when Garin stopped at the hotel in Lucca the first time, during his search for the mad Amadas, that he rode up just as the company were about to sit down to meat, for,

Li sires ert o bele gent
Tous aprestés com de laver. 2685
Puis demande hastivement
L'eve, qui toute est aprestee 2697
Et bele touaille aprestee.
Pres sont d'asseoir au mangier.

The good people of the Middle Ages invariably washed their hands before meals, and usually afterwards also, for in an age when forks were unknown, hands were bound to become sticky from handling meat and dipping them in the "sauce depe." The water was usually cold, though in winter the well-to-do permitted themselves the luxury of warm water.¹⁰ Basins were often of silver or gold or richly ornamented,¹¹ particularly in the houses of the rich. The towels, as we have seen above, were of excellent quality. One recalls the handsome towels with which Lanval was served.

⁹ *Das Höfische Leben*, 2nd ed., 1889, I, p. 518, note 7.

¹⁰ Cf. *Perceval*, vv. 40643-45; *Durmart*, vv. 9232-36.

¹¹ Cf. *Cleomadès*, vv, 17345 f.; *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 3604-5; *Perceval*, vv. 25222-23.

Evidence as to what meals consisted of is all too scarce in *Amadas*. One wishes that the author had had some of Chrétien's love for details, and had described at more length the fine feast of the Duke at which there was service "De riches boires, de viande." Meat and drink, even though rich, seems to us hardly enough to make a feast, as we understand the term, nor to satisfy the dignity of so powerful a lord as was the Duke of Burgundy. His feast was surely provided with boar's flesh and venison, neither of which can today be considered a delicacy except by the mighty hunter; perhaps there was a gilded peacock for dessert.

The slight refreshment of which the "trois sorcieres" partake in the chamber of the Count of Nevers gives us only a few details as to the composition of the mediaeval table.

Devant son lit sans atargier	
Une touaille rice et grant,	2115
Bele et blanche traient avant,	
Et d'argent trois coupes mult beles,	
Trois cuilliers et trois esquieles,	2118
Et as blans mances trois coutiaus,	
Et puis apres trois simeniaux.	
Mengiers ont et viandes chieres	2121
Et boires de maintes manieres.	

This might be called a midnight lunch. The time of serving other meals is uncertain. It would appear that when Garin arrived at the hotel the company were about to sit down to "souper." But the time of serving the morning meal can be fixed with more precision. Ydoine

Après la messe matinel	
Est revenue a son ostel,	3726
Et a toute sa gent commande	
Que grant plenté ait de viande,	
Et rice ostel et bel atour,	3729
.	
Ains eure de tierce sonant	3735
Aront si fait qu'a joie grant	
Se il li plaist, porra mangier.	
.	
L'eve demandent a itant	3867
Si vont laver lié et joiant,	
Et puis si sisent au mangier.	

Li mangiers fu rice et plenier : 3870
De daintiés et de vins mult ciers
I ot plus que il n'est mestiers.

Afterwards the lovers talked at their ease

Trestout le jor dessi au soir 3900
Que le souper ont atourné.
Si ont mult ricement soupé.

In addition to many other duties, it was incumbent upon the seneschal to serve the food; when

Li mangiers fu tous atornés, 3789
Li senescaus s'est aprestés,
Demandent l'eve liement.

It will be remembered that at the high feast just mentioned both Amadas and his father served the Duke at table.

6. Clothing

For every high-born lady the mantle was a necessary article of attire; Ydoine had a very handsome one "Fait d'un dyaspre rice et bel (v. 669) ¹² and another one of "vair" (v. 1149). Other articles of female attire may be observed in the scene in Amadas' lair :

Ydoine s'est desafublee : 3273
A tere a sa cape jetee,
En çainse remaint seulement
Et en cemise sainglement. 3275

The description of Ydoine's clothing leaves something to be desired,¹³ but the author is more generous in describing Amadas' apparel. The passages are worth quoting at length.

Il est vestus, comme envoisiés, 1623
D'un fres bliaut qui 'st entailliés
Auques court et tres bien seant,
Et d'un mantel tres bien seant 1626
De meïsmes lonc a mesure.
Et si ert çains d'une çainture

¹² If one looks at C. Cahier's *Mélanges d'archéologie*, one sees that the mediaeval poets did not exaggerate in their descriptions of stuffs, however it may have been with regard to precious and semi-precious stones.

¹³ It may be supplemented by the description of Urrique's attire, *Partonopeus*, vv. 4885 f.

Que pour mil mars ne dounast mie	1629
Car tramise li ot s'amie :	
Pour ce si chiere la tenoit.	
Braies et cemises avoit	1632
De toile faite en Rentien,	
Mult delié, ce sachiés bien.	
S'ot un fremail et un anel,	1635
Et un rubi mervelles bel ;	
Sa douce amie li donna	
Quant de Bourgongne s'en ala.	1638
Si fu mult cointement cauciés	
Com hons jolis et envoisiés,	
D'unes cauces bien entailliés	1641
De noir et de vermel biés.	

The outfit provided him by Garin at Lucca adds a few details to our picture.

Si ot lasnieres ou brioei	
Qui n'estoit pas povre ne vis,	
D'or et de soie mult soutis.	3762
Un fremail d'or a a son col.	
.	
D'une cape s'est afublés	
D'escrelate, si est fouree	3777
D'ermes fins, et s'est orlee	
D'un bas sebelin noir canu.	
Un anelet qui d'or fin fu	3780
A un rubi cler et luisant,	
Ot en son doi mult bien seant.	

Here Amadas is surely depicted as the "glass of fashion."

The servants of high folk were also richly dressed, as we may see in the description of Garin on his way to tell Amadas the bad news of Ydoine's betrothal (vv. 1678-85). He was something of a man of fashion himself, for he wore gloves from the famous Châteaudun :

Pour le caut du solel ardent,	
A garandir ses beles mains,	
Com cil qui n'est mie vilains,	1698
Ot uns blans gans de Castiaudun.	

Concerning headgear the poet has not much to say. In that age a hat was apparently not the indispensable requisite of attire

that it is today. Ydoine seems to have had no hat; she probably covered her head with her mantle as *Guillaume de Palerne* instructs us was the custom.¹⁴ As for the knights, their ordinary head covering was a helmet; when not in armor, they no doubt had, as did Amadas, "De Jherusalem un capel" (v. 3682).

7. Fellow-Feeling

In protecting the poor, as Amadas did, he showed himself considerably different from the average baron of his time; too often the vilen was considered by the lord as good for nothing except exploitation. But it is not alone the upper classes that may be accused of a certain hard-heartedness. The times were hard; war, famine, pest, oppression, and poverty do not tend to foster gentle feelings in the human breast. It was at a time in which the motto of daily life ran: "Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost." The dictum illustrates not only the attitude of the nobility, but of the lower classes also. No better illustration of this temper can be given than the attitude of "petit et grant" alike toward the mad Amadas. Garin asks the host to explain the cause of the great uproar in the street. "C'est .i. biaux deduis," says he.

Venés veoir un fol dervé	
Qui bien a un an conversé	2712
En ceste vile. Cascun jor	
Par ici seut faire son tour.	

Garin may as well go and look also, for

. . . tuit cil qui sevent les estres	
Saillent as huis et as fenestres	2706
Por la grant merveille esgarder.	

Grans est la noise et grans li cris	
Des garçons, des enfans petis	2742
Qui l'empaignent et qui le batent,	
Qui le descirent, qui le gratent.	
Par la grant rue tuit l'arochent	2745
De verges le batent et brochent,	
Mult le laidissent, mult le roullent;	
Les viés drapiaus es putiaus mollent,	2748

¹⁴ Cf. E. Lommatzsch, "Darstellung von Trauer u. Schmerz in der altfranz. Literatur," *Z. f. R. Philol.*, XLII (1923), No. 1, pp. 20 ff.

Puis l'en fierent par mi le dos
 Et de bastons et de lons cros,
 Et par les rains et par les flans 2751
 Que par maint liu en saut li sans.

Garin and the author are of one opinion in thinking that "Ce est damages et grans doels," but the host's wife, like her husband, is of a different mind. "By Saint Amant! my lady," says she, "Come see one of the greatest fools in forty countries ;

Si bon gieu, certes, ne veïstes 3093
 Puis que de vo pais partistes ;
 Mult vous tenrés por escarnie
 S'il passe que nel veés mie ; 3096
 Se vous perdés le gieu de lui,
 Mult vos tornera a anui.
 Dame, car le venés veoir, 3099
 Que Dius vous doinst joie et savoir,
 Vous n'i recouvrerés jamais."

Apparently the people of the Middle Ages regarded the madman as their just prey, oblivious of the possibility that they might find themselves in a like state on the morrow. Modern parallels are not wanting.

If we were to judge the silence of *Amadas* adversely, we should say that there seems to have been the same lack of gentle feeling within the family circle. It is not mentioned that the seneschal or the Duke had any particular affection for his wife. This does not surprise us when we remember that in this age marriages were made, not on the basis of respect and affection, but on the basis of property. Likewise, there are no expressions of filial affection: Ydoine owes "foi" to her father and mother, but apparently nothing more. On the other hand, mothers and fathers loved their children then as they have done in all times. When the seneschal hears of his son's madness, "estrange duel maine et fait." The sorrow of the mother is more touching:

La mere vint toute esfreé[e] 1944
 Et angousse[use] et esperdue ;
 Pasmee est desour lui keüe ;
 Au revenir pleure et souspire, 1947
 Ses mains detort, ses chevex tire,
 Car en lui ert toute s'entente.

Ore en est iree et dolente	1950
Et angousseuse et si pensive	
Plus que nule dame qui vive.	

8. *Religion*

And yet, outwardly at any rate, the people were religious enough. King Arthur always heard mass, and so did these same citizens of Lucca who seem to us to have been so deficient in Christian charity.

Par matin quant l'aube est crevee,	
Que li saint par la cité sonnent	3705
Les gens s'esmoevent et semonent	
D'aler oïr le Diu mestier.	

Amadas knows well enough

Se jou par ma rage m'ochi,	
Dont sai jou bien certes, de fi,	
Que quant m'ame ert du cors issue	936
Finablement sera perdue.	

The teaching of the Christian church is apparent in the attitude of both Ydoine and Amadas toward adultery and infanticide. Ydoine will under no circumstances yield Amadas her body till she shall have been divorced from the Count, for she does not wish to proceed otherwise than in accordance with Christian law. Both consider that if Amadas prays and gives sufficient alms, Ydoine's soul will be delivered from hell-fire for the sin of murder.

The precepts of the Church were not lacking, nor were clerks to preach them; they officiated then as now in the business of marriage and death. It is the clergy, too, and not the civil law, that effects the divorce of Ydoine from the Count.

[E]veskes font venir assés,	
Et autres gens, clers et letrés,	7344
Qui les ont par crestienté	
Partis tout a leur volenté.	

When Ydoine is at the point of death in Lucca, she asks to be allowed to confess, and they cause "sufficient number of bishops, monks and abbés" to appear for that purpose (vv. 4811 f.).

When a great lady died, it seems that many clerics of various ranks were necessary to perform the offices pertaining to extreme unction.

Puis font faire haute vigile	
A tout le clergé de la vile.	5322
Après le gaitent toute nuit	
A grant doleur et sans deduit.	
Assés i'a quant qu'est mestiers,	5325
Cierges et clers lisans sautiers.	
Mult le gardent a grant honor,	
Et l'endemain, trestoute jor	5328
Firent mult larges departies	
As povres gens, as abeïes,	
Por li par toute la cité.	5331

Gifts to abbeys, monasteries, and other religious institutions were common, "ou par doutanche ou par amor." Not infrequently some great lord, wearied of war and the world, would build an abbey and retire to it, with or without his wife, to end the remainder of his days there; so did Eliduc, Gilion de Trasignyes, and the Duke of Burgundy.

. . . En tant fonda	7887
Une abeïe u s'en ala	
Et la ducesse avoeques lui.	
Illoeques morurent andui.	7890

People who could not afford to build abbeys satisfied their consciences by going on pilgrimages to some holy place or other. The author of *Amadas* gives a brief but interesting picture of the pilgrim of his day:

Un souspir fait en gemissant,	
Plus de bon cuer que peneant	975
Ne font por les peciés crueus.	
Vous en avés veü de teus,	
A tout bastons de fer liiés,	978
Qui mains depleurent leur peciés,	
Et pleurent mains en souspirant	
Que cil ne fait son fol talant.	981

But for all the outward show, religious faith, as we have seen, was sometimes but superficial. If it was powerless to inculcate pity, it was equally unable to uproot superstition. Ydoine was

well aware of the temper of her fellows in this respect, and despite the poet's assertion that the Count

Ne croit en songe n'en argu, 2331
En carroi ne en esternu,

she successfully relies on his credulity to accomplish her ends. Without looking for other evidence in the poem, we see that these lines alone betray the superstitious mind. Ydoine's three witches give sufficient evidence of their powers in black art and enchantment. Of "esternu" it need only be said that already in the thirteenth century the belief in the supernatural significance of sneezing was of respectable antiquity. Sir Thomas Browne discusses the phenomenon with his customary erudition in Book IV, chapter ix, of his *Pseudodoxia*, and Mr. N. M. Penzer has added an illuminating note thereon in the third volume of his edition of Tawney's *Ocean of Story*.¹⁵

9. Medicine

It does not appear that Ydoine was attended by any doctors during her languishment nor during her illness preceding her supernatural death. A wise doctor from Salerno or Montpellier might have been called in the latter instance, but in those times it was equally likely that the aid of a wise-woman might have been invoked, for she was well regarded, and ever ready to hand. The wise-woman, learned in the virtues of roots and herbs, has existed since time immemorial; no one admitted her to the rank of "doctor," for her cures partook of the nature of white magic when her patient got well, and of black when he died. But the cures of the "doctor" himself seem, to us at least, to have been little more scientific than those of his humble sister. The great John of Gaddesden, court physician under Edward II, practised some cures, apparently with success, that fill us with astonishment. In his *Rosa Anglica* he tells us how, after long search, he found a cure for the stone (*calculus*). "At last I thought of collecting a good quantity of those beetles which in summer are found in the dung of oxen, also of the crickets which sing in the fields. I cut

¹⁵ I may add the testimony of a "Japanese Priest" whose *Miscellany* has been translated by W. N. Porter for the Oxford University Press; cf. pp. 41-42. See also Rabelais, *Oeuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, III, xx.

off the heads and wings of the crickets and put them with the beetles and common oil into a pot; I covered it and left it afterwards for a day and a night in a bread oven. I drew out the pot and heated it at a moderate fire; I pounded the whole and rubbed the sick parts; in three days the pain had disappeared." It is impossible to take issue with the learned doctor, but it is permissible to doubt whether Ydoine's illness, natural or unnatural, would have been cured by swallowing glow-worms or "seven heads of fat bats."¹⁸ The cure seems worse than the disease.

On the whole, it seems that the poet was right when he said concerning Amadas as he lay on a sick-bed :

Ne l'esteüst en autre terre	315
Autre mire mander ne querre	
De Montpellier ne de Salerne.	

It is equally needless to send for a doctor in case of madness, thinks the poet, and prefers to cure Amadas by the only infallible means known to him.

Whatever may have been the fate of the common dead in the Middle Ages, the nobility, according to *Amadas*, were buried conformably to their rank. Here is the description of the last honors paid to the body of Ydoine :

Quant il l'orent ensevelie	5313
En un ciere paille de Surie	
Si l'en portent a morne ciere	
En la sale u ot une biere	5316
En quoi il ont coucié le cors.	
Un drap de soie dont li ors	
Valoit cent mars et assés plus	5319
Ont estendu par de dessus.	

After this the usual vigil is performed, and on the third day she is buried.

Une place ot d'antiquité
Qui mult ert large et grans et plaine,
Et deliteus liu ert et saine;

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 496. For these quotations and references I am indebted to Prof. Lowes' "Loveres Maladye of Hereos," *Mod. Philol.* XI, cited above.

But not all medicines were ugly: The dying Edward I had prepared for him an electuary composed of "ambergris, musk, pearls, and jacinths, and pure gold and silver," which was very "comforting." Cf. L. F. Salzman, *Mediaeval Byways*, p. 117.

De mur fu close toute bien	5343
La place du tans ancien;	
Sus siel n'avoit nul liu plus sains	
Car laiens avoit maint cors sains	5346
.	
Tuit li haut home du païs	
Et les dames, quant il moroient	
Illuec tuit et tuites gisoient.	5352
Mais bien vous di sans nule gile,	
N'i gisent fors la gens nobile,	
Ou plus biau liu, tout a lor cois.	5355
Sour li ont mis de blanc lio[i]s;	
En un sarcu de marbre bis	
Le cors de la contesse ont mis,	5358
Et ame et cors ont commandé	
A Diu, puis vont en la cité.	

"Li vis au vif, li mors au mort," remarks the poet philosophically.

10. *Feudal Marriage*

In our romance the Count of Nevers receives but scant attention and scant sympathy. The interest of the author lies in the love affair of his principals; for him the Count is only a hoaxed husband; for us, however, he is a very gallant as well as unfortunate gentleman. His rôle is a difficult one, but he fills it with credit and honor. It would have been easy enough for the poet to make him either an old or a young fool, but such was not his general artistic purpose. The Count is not a mere figure-head, but a very real man. He was not the first nor the last victim of the feudal system of marriage.

According to the mediaeval system, a noble, whose only child was a daughter, sought out a knight or baron with whom to mate her so that the fief might have a protector and manager; according to law, he could force her to choose one of any three of his liegemen.¹⁷ Our romance does not tell us that the Duke of Burgundy had recourse to any such means to marry off Ydoine, but we know, inasmuch as she was his sole heir, that he was very anxious to have her bestowed. Possibly it was he who approached the Count of Nevers with a proposal of marriage; we know only that the latter agreed to marry Ydoine.

¹⁷ Cf. F. Ragueau, *Glossaire du droit français*, ed. E. Laurière, s. v. "mariage."

"Li cuens de Nevers l'a plevi	1785
L'autrier a Digon, car le vi,	
Vausist ou non, contre son voel.	
Ou soit a joie, ou soit a duel,	1788
Espousee ert jusqu'a quart jor,	
Et s'en ira o son signour	
A Nevers, la riche cité."	1791

It may equally well have been the Count who took the first steps in the matter, for twelfth and thirteenth century nobles were not wont to let rich duchies go by the board when they could be had with no other encumbrance than a wife. The Count was bound to marry in order to provide an heir for his own estate: why not kill two birds with one stone, and while he was getting a wife for the sake of an heir, annex to his County of Nevers the neighboring Duchy of Burgundy? The goods to be gained by such a manoeuvre were worth considerable risk, even the risk of his life, he thought, and the Count confronted them manfully.

But the best-laid plans come to naught if a woman happens to oppose them, thinks the poet, for Ydoine disappointed the Count on both scores. According to the custom, she had been married without having been consulted as to her wishes or opinions in the matter; she decided that in the future her wishes should be considered. If marriages could be so easily made, reasoned Ydoine, they could be as easily un-made, and, *femina idonea* that she was, she set about to effect this end.

After more than a year of joyless existence with a wife languishing on a sick-bed, bullied by dreams and superstitious fears, in despair of ever achieving what was, after all, his principal goal, the Count was eager enough to grant Ydoine a divorce if the Duke were willing. Indeed, his patience, generosity, and courtesy are astonishing; many a mediaeval baron would have treated Ydoine much as did "Hugues li traites," who gave his newly married lady of Beauvais a blow in the face when she refused him her favors; mediaeval temper was short and quick, and shorter and quicker, if possible, where obstreperous wives were concerned, than elsewhere. The attitude of the Count shows that in this romance French literature had passed away from the manners of the *chanson de geste* as well as from the manners of the courtly

love romance. After the Duke has duly considered the matter in council assembled, the divorce is decided upon, for,

Par estavoir faire l'estuet, 7315
Car autrement estre ne puet;

and the uncongenial pair are "Partis tout a leur volenté."¹⁸

Not long after this happy event, however, the good Duke began to worry about the succession of his lands, and took Ydoine to task for refusing all the rich suitors who now made their appearance. "If you like anyone, tell me, and you can have him," says he. The attitude of the Duke is also surprisingly lenient; possibly he also had learned something of the stuff of which Ydoine was made, for he gave her full liberty in the matter of choosing a husband.¹⁹ Nothing could have pleased Ydoine more. But the council of barons is again invoked to give advice, or at least to make the semblance of giving it, for in addition to serving Ydoine's particular purpose, there is more honor, thinks she (as does Laudine) in taking a husband on the advice of one's constituency. Fortunately for the lovers, Amadas is the unanimous choice of the assembled barons. Some thought their lady would not hear of such a match because Amadas held certain fiefs of her; others thought that he, so rich and proud, would disdain to marry her. But whatever had been their judgment, the lovers would have done as they wished: Amadas was already preparing to seize Ydoine by force. Happily, such action was not necessary, and the pair were married with the good will of all, including, it may be supposed, that of the Count of Nevers, who was already suing for the hand of the Count of Poitiers' daughter. The marriage was celebrated amid great rejoicing:

Espousé sont a grant honour.
Li haut baron et li contour,
Quant la grans messe fu cantee, 7821
En ont Ydoine ramenee
Ou grant palais a joie amont.
Rice feste tenue i ont. 7824
Assés i ot donné grans dons
Et as contes et as barons.
Le jour uzent a grant deduit. 7827

¹⁸ Divorces are rare in mediaeval literature; this example should be added to that of Athenais and the Emperor in *Eracle*.

¹⁹ As did also Felice's father in *Gui de Warwick*.

"It does not pertain to me," says the poet, "to tell all their joy." We will follow his discreet example, noting only the customs of calling for a cup of wine (v. 7839) after the wedding escort had left the newly married couple to themselves. We cannot agree with Schultz²⁰ that this custom was invented by Gottfried von Strassburg.²¹

The marriage of two noble persons was the occasion of considerable feasting. Amadas and Ydoine stayed a month at the Duke's court "pour festoier," and then the groom led the bride home to his own country

La refont feste, ce m'est vis,
Et noeces gringneurs et plus fieres
Que ne furent ainc les premieres. 7860

Ensamble furent jors et ans
Lonc tans, et orent biaux enfans.
Tout leur aage a grant doçor 7869
Vesquirent et a grant amour.

We can do no better than leave them so, repeating the poet's prayer that the same fate may happen to "tous peceeurs ausi."

All this is little enough. There are many details about the intimate life of the Middle Ages about which we should be glad to know more, in order that we might arrive at a better understanding of one of the most interesting and colorful periods of the world's history. It is impossible to say what implements, what household goods, what letters and documents, by means of which we might be able in part to restore these centuries, are now lost to us forever. But much illustrative stuff still remains in literature, such as that we have just considered.²² We cannot be too thankful that "Time, which antiquates antiquities and hath an art to make dust of all things, hath yet spared these minor monuments."

²⁰ *Das Höfische Leben*, ed. cit., I, p. 635.

²¹ Cf. *Tristan*, ed. Bechstein, vv. 12642 f.; also Bédier, *Tristan*, I, p. 142.

²² In addition to the works cited above, the following will be found useful: S. F. Barrow, *The Mediaeval Society Romances*, Cabanès (Docteur), *Moeurs intimes du Passé*, G. G. Coulton, *A Mediaeval Garner*, E. L. Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, W. S. Davis, *Life on a Mediaeval Barony*, J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, C.-V. Langlois, *La Vie en France au Moyen Age*, A. Luchaire, *La Société française au temps de Philippe-Auguste*, A. Meray, *La Vie au temps des Cours d'Amour*, Thos. Wright, *Homes of Other Days*; idem, *History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages*.

CHAPTER VIII

THEME AND THESIS

Whatever may interest us most in *Amadas*, the feature which interested the poet most was the subject of pure and loyal love. At the very beginning of his story he plainly announces his theme :

D'un amant vous voel raconter,	
Et d'une amante ki ama	
Mult loialment tant com dura.	12
Dire vous voel com il avint	
A cheus qu' Amors ensemble tint	
Toute leur vie sans trichier,	15
Sans vilenie et sans dangier.	
En cest afaire, en ceste amour	
N'avint onques fors grant ennour,	18
Et de deus pars grant loialté	
A tous les jours de leur aé.	

When Ydoine has finally accorded *Amadas* her love, the poet observes :

Si s'ajoustant naturaument	1176
Par si fine loial amour	
Et de tel fu que jamais jour	
C'aient a vivre n'estaindra,	
Tant com cascuns vivans sera.	1180

Their love is such

Que jamais jor n'erent trouvé	4681
Doi amant de leur loialté	
De tous endrois sans traïson	
Et sans vilaine mesprison,	
De bones meurs, en tous samblans	4685
<i>Sormonte[nt] tous autres amans</i>	
<i>Qui sont et qui or ont esté</i>	
<i>Dont on avra dit et conté</i>	
<i>Ne en estoire n'en cançon</i>	
<i>Par raisnable description.</i>	

The *Amadas* poet was not alone in his attitude toward loyal love; two of his great German contemporaries held similar ideas, so similar, in fact, that it is worth quoting at length from their works. Gottfried von Strassburg has been reading the story of the loves of Tristan and Iseult, and has resolved to communicate the results of his reading to all noble hearts, for

ez ist in sere guot gelesen. 172

guot? jâ, innecliche guot:
ez liebet liebe und edelt muot,
ez staetet triuwe und tugendet leben,
ez kan wol lebende tugende geben;
wan swâ man hoeret oder list,
daz von sô reinen triuwen ist,
da liebent dem getriuwen man
triuwe und ander tugende van:
liebe, triuwe, staeter muot,
êre und ander manic guot,
daz geliebet niemer anderswâ
sô sêre noch sô wol sô dâ,
dâ man von herzeliebe saget
und herzeleit uz liebe klaget.
lieb ist ein alsô saelic dinc,
ein alsô saeliclich gerinc,
daz nieman âne ir lère
noch tugende hât noch êre
sô manec wert leben, sô liebe frumet,
sô vil sô tugende von ir kumet,
owê daz allez, daz der lebet,
nâch herzeliebe niene strebet. 194

For the moment Gottfried overlooks the nature of the love of which he is about to tell, and allows himself to be carried away by the contemplation of ideal love in the abstract such as he can approve. Wolfram von Eschenbach is more direct and precise:

valsch geselleclicher muot
ist zem hellefiure guot
und ist hoher werdekeit ein hagel.
sin triuwe hat sô kurzen zagel
daz sie den dritten biz niht galt
fuor sie mit bremen in den walt.

Dise mâniger slahte underbint
iedoch niht gar von manne sint.

für diu wip stoze ih disiu zil.
 swelhû mîn râten merken wil,
 diu sol wizzen war sie kêre
 ir pris und ir êre,
 und wem sie dâ nâch sî bereit
 minne und ir werdekeit,
 sô daz sie niht geriuwe
 ir kiusche und ir triuwe.
 vor gote ich guoten wîben bite,
 daz in rêhtiu mâze volge mite.
 scham ist ein slôz ob allen siten:
 ich endarf in niht mêr heiles biten.
 diu valsche erwirbet valschen pris,
 wie staete ist ein dünnez is,
 daz ougestheize sunnen hat?
 ir lop vil balde alsus zergât,
 manec wîbes schoene an lobe ist breit:
 ist dâ daz herze conterfeit,
 die lobe ich als ich solde
 daz safer ime golde.
 ich enhân daz niht für lihtiu dinc,
 swer in den kranken messinc
 verwurket edelen rubîn
 und al die âventiure sîn:
 dem gliche ih rehten wîbes muot:
 diu ir wipheit rehte tuot,
 dane sol ich varwe prûeven niht,
 noch ir hêrzen dach, daz man siht.
 ist s'inrehalp der brust bewart,
 so ist werder pris dâ niht verschart.¹

That Gottfried should take occasion to defend true love, and that Wolfram should feel it necessary to indicate the deportment proper to it is evidence that there was more than one lady of the stamp of the Dame de Fayel in the society of the time; but it is also evidence that feeling was turning against that type of woman. The kind of lady that Wolfram praises is illustrated by his own heroine, the beautiful and loyal Condwiramur. Kudrun, Rimenhild, and Blanchefleur are of the same type, for they remained loyal under very difficult circumstances. Guy of Warwick's lady, Felice, and the King of Hungary's daughter remained true to their lovers through all vicissitudes, while Orable (*Enfances*

¹ *Parsival*, ed. Bartsch, I, 47 ff. See also Walther von der Vogelweide, No. 69, ed. Bartsch.

Guillaume) and the dame of Orson de Beauvais might have served as models to Penelope herself. If there were ladies of the stamp of Guiteclin's wife, Sebile, there were a few also, of the type of Ydoine, whom the poet presents

Com la plus tres loial amie 4978
 Que on oïst mais en roumans
 Puis le tans as premiers amans.

But we do not have to take the poet's word for it: Ydoine *proves* that she is what the poet says she is. After she has accorded Amadas her love, she seals their compact by an exchange of rings. Here the ring, gage of love from time immemorial, takes on a special significance: it becomes a symbol of the sacredness of the marriage vow itself. How important the ring is appears to best advantage when the fairy knight says that Ydoine has given *him* the ring which Amadas gave to *her*. Such an act would have been most damning evidence of a breach of loyalty, and for the moment Amadas is almost persuaded that Ydoine had been unfaithful to him. But she did not give the ring to the "maufé": he seized it.

Loyalty is again illustrated by the suffering of the two lovers on a sickbed, first Amadas and then Ydoine (vv. 2450 ff.). But she was to meet a still greater test of loyalty; the fact of Amadas' madness in no way affects her love for him; she seems almost to ignore it, for with sublime confidence in the depth and power of her love, she undertakes the truly uncanny task of curing him, venturing into his lair with no other aid or protection than three of her squires (vv. 3228 ff.). It is the faith and loyalty of love that have enabled Ydoine to bring to a successful close this 'adventure perilous.'

If love deserved to be called at all loyal, the lover would surely have no desire to live after the death of his beloved; evidence of this attitude is found elsewhere than in literature. Ydoine realized this, and out of the greatness of her affection sought to prevent Amadas from killing himself after her death (vv. 4828-4947):

Adont pense com boune drue
 Estrange loiauté d'amour
 Pour assouagier sa dolour. 4960

The "estrange loiauté" is Ydoine's story of how she killed three illegitimate children which she had had by three of her cousins before she loved Amadas (vv. 5080 ff.). It was an heroic shift, and only barely served, for if it had not thus become incumbent upon Amadas to live and pray for the salvation of her soul

Se fust illuec ocis de doel 5304
Tout maintenant, mult volentiers,
Et comme amans fin et entiers.

Perhaps enough has been said to illustrate the loyalty of our lovers. The poet insists on two other points, the first of which is that this love was *natural*:

Natureument leur est venus
Cis dous fus es cuers et creüs.
Ne leur vint pas pour manger fruit,
Ne pour boire, ce sachiés tuit,
Par coi li pluseur destruit sont 1185
Qui ça arrieres amé ont,
Com de Tristan, dont vous avés
Oï, et de plusieurs assés.
Mais cist sont de fine amistié
Natureument entreplaié.

Potions and charms to secure love were common enough, as Juvenal, Theocritus, and Horace attest; it is related that Lucretius went mad from the effects of a love-draught. The canny Find Mac Cumall was more fortunate: he recognized clearly enough the nature of the nuts sent him by Maer, the wife of Bersa, and buried these love-charms a foot deep in the earth.² It is probable that in some romance unknown to the present writer, but known to the *Amadas* poet, fruit was used for the same purpose, for, since the time of the garden of Eden, fruit has, upon occasion, exercised a baneful influence upon man. Proserpina learned only too well the penalty for eating fruit in the garden of Hades, and it was an apple that wrought the ruin of Guingamor on his return from the land of Faëry. Less harmful was the fruit described in *Esclarmonde* (vv. 1264 ff.); indeed, anyone who ate of it would straightway become young, even "s'il avoit mil ans vescu

^a The Rennes Dindsenchus, *Revue Celtique*, XV, p. 334.

sur terre." Quite as marvellous was the fairy apple that was food and drink to Connla of the Golden Hair.

The third point upon which the poet lays special emphasis is that the love of Amadas and Ydoine was *pure*. It must be confessed that it was so through no fault of Amadas, but because of Ydoine's moral inflexibility. What was the usual and conventional habit of young people in this respect in the period in which *Amadas* was written may be judged by the knights' reproof to Amadas that he loved no lady, since "*de tous biens en amenderoit*" (v. 109). By contrast it is shown to still better advantage in the attitude of Ydoine :

Requis ent l'avoient pluisour,	185
Mais onc n'i vaut metre s'amor ;	
Onques ne vaut <i>par drüerie</i>	
<i>Avoir ami ne estre amie ;</i>	
En despit avoit tous amans	
La pucele preüs et vaillans.	190

Both the principals of the romance are almost anomalies in their time; but their attitude, and particularly that of Ydoine, marks the beginning of a new conception of love. We might expect that a lady so minded would never love at all, or if she did, that she would be very proper about it : and so she was. Amadas, who first falls a victim to love, is in a somewhat uncertain position. He wants Ydoine for his "*amie*," but what more he wants is not clear until, without hope of anything else, he definitely demands "*bele pramesse sans proufit*."

For her part, Ydoine's affection for Amadas was at first purely platonic,

Car mult l'aime en son cuer et prise	
De boine amour sans drüerie.	43

But when she is led to believe that Amadas harbors other emotions for her, she feels insulted and injured (vv. 526 f.), and her attitude is still more clearly and uncompromisingly defined on the occasion of Amadas' next visit :

Trop as ton sens ariere mis	742
Qui quides estre mes amis	
Et me dis que d'amour t'amaïsse.	
Mix vauroie estre en un fu arse	745

Et detraite a quatre chevaus
 Et par montaignes et par vaus
 Que feisse tel lecerie
 Que t'amaisse par drüerie. 749

It is no wonder that Amadas sighed "de cuer parfont."

But once Ydoine has promised him her love, there is no turning back; she is now as sincere and whole-hearted in capitulation as she had previously been in resistance. She hopes, as does Amadas, that when he returns from his wanderings worthy of her, their love may be openly declared, and that they may be united. If she would rather be drawn by horses than love basely, so she would rather suffer a like fate than give her body to one to whom she cannot give her heart. With the capableness which her very name indicates she set out to prevent any such disaster. Her deception of the Count by means of the three witches has been mentioned above. With the same steadfastness of purpose with which she once refused Amadas her favors she now consistently refuses the Count, her lord, so that

Ydoine, qui dame est noumee,
 Pour çou qu'est contesse espousee,
 Mais encor est pucele et pure. 2653

Her purity is her constant preoccupation:

Mais si bien gardee m'en sui
 Comme loiaus compaignie fine
 Que pucele sui et mescine. 3512

After he had defeated the fairy knight and resuscitated Ydoine, Amadas, who was still pretty much a partisan of the old usage, must have felt that he had earned a lover's right:

Ce li feïst volentiers
 Dont a eü tant desiriers,
 Que bien i voit et tans et lieu.

Ydoine is the torch-bearer of the new code, however, and

icestui gieu
 Ne li otroie ne consent; 6677
 Ains li moustre raisnavlement
 Raison tant qu'il set bien et voit

Que faire lors pas ne la doit. 6680

"Icel desir devés targier 6726

Tant quel puissiés sans pecié faire

Et a grant joie et a cief traire

Que nus n'i puisse vilounie

Noter, ne mal ne felounie." 6730

According to Ydoine, everything must be done properly and in order. Not of her can it be said that the passions of her heart vanquished the dictates of her reason:

"Si cuic, voiant tot mon barnage, 6744

Ouvrer ensi qu'a grant hounor

Me partirai de mon signour

Et que serai vostre espousee.

Et s'ore le me fasiés, 6752

Bien savés que fait ariés

Si grant pechiet et si cruel,

Et si orible, et si mortel

Que puis ne porriés jamais

Selonc crestienté apres, 6756

Nule baillie avoir de moi

D'espouser fors encontre loy

Et en avourtire jesir;

Por ce vous en vient mix sofrir

Un poi de terme por avoir

A joie plus vostre voloir. 6762

Ensi le ferons, biaux amis,

Car c'est le miaus, a mon avis."

"Ce que vous plaist, il plaist a moi," says Amadas. What else can he say—or do?

The poet's insistence on natural love and on pure love leads us to suspect him of some special purpose. Our suspicions seem to be justified and explained by lines 1181-90 quoted above on page 171, especially the lines printed in italics. The poet comes as near as poets ever did—in an age of impersonal and uncritical literature, in which the writer is the instrument and mirror of society, and not society the victim of the writer's cleverness—to declaring that he is writing an anti-*Tristan*. We saw above in Chapter II (pp. 28 f.) that it is in the conception of love that *Cligès* differs radically from *Amadas*. In this respect the spirit of the former

romance presents no actually different attitude from that in *Tristan*, for though Fenice may have casuistically satisfied the necessities of external appearances, in reality her relations with her lover are no less irregular than those of Iseult with Tristan. So *Amadas* is likewise an anti-*Cligès*.

If one bears *Tristan* in mind while reading *Amadas*, as the poet must certainly have had it in mind, it is impossible not to compare the respective heroes and heroines at every step. What greater contrast could there be between the fate of Amadas and Ydoine and that of Tristan and Iseult? One pair powerful, honored, and loved, happy in the possession of land and children; the other maligned, suspected, banished, and outcast, prey to deadly fears and mordant desires, fated to die in the end from intolerable pain, friendless, bitter, and alone. Such is the reward of love that springs naturally in the heart of man and woman and is fostered there,—not without the trials that are the inevitable concomitants of human existence,—with prudence and virtue. And such is the reward of love that springs from God knows where, maintained in shame and dishonor in defiance of the laws society has found it expedient to impose on men, living in holes and corners, eventually to die there without having yielded to its victims one brimming cup of happiness unmingled with gall.

More than a century and a half separates Ydoine from Christine de Pisan, that virtuous lady who was shocked by Chrétien's lack of moderation and pained by the cynicism of Jean de Meun. But the spirit of the one lived in the other. By her attitude toward life and love Ydoine condemned the romances of Marie's clerk no less certainly than did Christine. Perhaps she took too much advantage of her authority as an "amie" whose every command must be obeyed. But surely her commands and desires were more rational than were those of Guinevere, who desired Lancelot to shame his knighthood by mounting a hangman's cart, and wound his self-respect by appearing recreant in a tournament of peers. At any rate, Ydoine was no opportunist,—as was Fenice,—to be easily satisfied with the letter of the law, and, seizing factitious opportunity by the forelock, flee with her lover to lie with him in adultery under the strictures of common decency and Holy Church. A subtle equivocation was for her not a sufficiently firm base upon which to build the edifice of her happiness; for she was

a woman of flesh and blood who had stepped out of a castle into a romance, *femina idonea*, not a figment of courtly imagination, a figurine from the land where it is always afternoon.

Without attempting to fix dogmatically the limits of any epoch whose literature is characterized by certain definite traits, it may be said, for the sake of convenience, that the year 1200 divides the old from the new. The latter half of the twelfth century was the period wherein the Arthurian and courtly romance grew up, flourished, and declined. In the first years of the thirteenth century a new tendency is visible in literature. The poets now no longer looked exclusively to the matter of Britain or Rome for models or material for their compositions. There was a reaction, not violent, but certain, against the exotic, and a growing predilection for homely stuff. Poets turned once more to native material, re-wrote the old *gestes* and composed new ones. In lyric poetry Thibaut IV represents the new ideas. But the period was national in another sense also: not only were Raoul de Cambrai and Huon de Bordeaux celebrated, people of lesser stature and humbler manners, such as Galerent and the Comtesse d'Anjou found authors also. The poet did not disdain to choose his heroes and heroines from the society in which he himself lived.

The recensions and continuations of the old *chansons de geste* did not form a particularly valuable addition to French literature, but of the new romance, which may be called the romance of manners, the opposite was true. In so far as the new literature represented actual contemporary life, of the upper classes at first, and later of the bourgeoisie, whether in the *épopée*, *débat*, satire, or *fabliau*, it was valuable for other reasons than artistic merit or emotional interest.

The spirit which produced the new literature was not different from the temper of the times: the two were halves of the same whole. The spirit was quite distinct from that which had produced and enjoyed the romances of courtly love under the tutelage of Marie de Champagne and her high-priests Chrétien and André. It was a spirit of protest, not only against foreign models, but particularly against an anomaly in social life represented by Marie's verdict that love is impossible between married persons. Apparently there were some sober people who thought that marriage was not necessarily a bar to happiness, and that it could be

found in the married state in spite of the inelasticity of the feudal system in these matters. Probably the few of Marie's status understood and endorsed her attitude; but the classes below hers did not understand it, and they refused to have it in the literature which had come down to them—or up to which they had come. It is *Amadas et Ydoine* that leads the return to common sense. Human nature cannot live continuously on the peaks of passion, idealism, or artificiality—nor can literature. There must be a reaction from strained nerves and romanticism, a return to safer and less hectic levels. Such a reaction and such a return are here made definitely and gracefully from a literary ideal whose spirit had little in common with actual existence, and with no abatement of intrinsic interest or emotional appeal. After all,

Qui a jamais esté si friand de voyage
Que la longueur en soit plus douce que le port ?

APPENDIX

OF ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

The following quotations and references, without being exhaustive, are designed to illustrate certain features of mediaeval life and literature more fully than could be properly done in the main portion of this study.

Famous Lovers, Ch. i, p. 11 f.

1. Lydgate (?) laments for the ladies of olden time in a poem called "Wourldly Mutabilitie"; cf. E. Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, XXV, p. 287.

Stanza 11

These ladyes that were so fressh of face,
And of bewte moost souereyn,
Ester, Judith, and eek Candace,
Alceste, Dido and fayr Eleyne
And eek the goodly wyves tweyne,
Marcya and Penelope,
Were embracyd in the cheyne
Of *timor mortis conturbat me*.

2. Gower's list of famous lovers is found in a ballade conceived somewhat in the vein of Amadas' lament; ed. Macaulay, *Works*, vol. I, Balade XLIII.

1. Plus trichierous qe Jason a Medée,
A Deianire ou q' Ercules estoit,
Plus q' Eneas, q'avoit Dido lessée,
Plus qe Theseüs, q' Adriagne amoit,
Ou Demephon, quant Phillis oublioit,
Je trieus, hélas, q'amer jadis soloie:
Dont chanterai desore en mon endroit,
C'est ma dolour, qe fuist ainçois ma joie.

2. Unques Ector, q'ama Pantasilée,
En tiele haste a Troie ne s'armoit,
Qu tu tout nud n'es deinz le lit couché,
Amis as toutes, quelque venir doit,
Ne poet chaloir, mais q'une femne y soit;
Si es comun plus qe la halte voie.
Hélas, qe la fortune me deçoit,
C'est ma dolour, qe fuist ainçois ma joie.

3. De Lancelot si fuissetz remembré,
 Et de Tristrans, com il se contenoit,
 Generides, Florent, Partonopé,
 Chascun de ceaux sa loialté gardoit.
 Mais tu, hélas, q'est ceo qe te forsoit
 De moi, q'a toi jammais null jour falsoie?
 Tu es a large et jeo sui en destroit,
 C'est ma dolour, qe fuist ainçois ma joie.

4. Des toutz les mals tu q'es le plus maloit,
 Ceste compleignte a ton oraille envoie;
 Santé me laist et langour me reçoit,
 C'est ma dolour, qe fuist ainçois ma joie.

3. Chaucer's ballade in the *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women* (Text B), Skeat, *Geoffrey Chaucer, Works*, is certainly worth quoting in full:

Hyd, Absolon, thy gilte tresses clere;
 Ester, ley thou thy meknesse al a-doun;
 Hyd, Ionathas, al thy frendly manere;
 Penelopee, and Marcia Catoun,
 Mak of your wyfhod no comparisoun;
 Hyde ye your beautes, Isoude and Eleyne,
 My lady cometh, that al this may disteyne.

Thy faire body, lat hit nat appere,
 Lavyne; and thou, Lucesse of Rome toun,
 And Polixene, that boghten love so dere,
 And Cleopatre, with al thy passioun,
 Hyde ye your trouthe of love and your renoun;
 And thou, Tisbe, that hast for love swich peyne:
 My lady cometh, that al this may disteyne.

Herro, Dido, Laudomia, alle y-fere,
 And Phyllis, hanging for thy Demophoun,
 And Canace, espyed by thy chere,
 Ysiphile, bestraysed with Jasoun,
 Maketh of your trouthe neyther boost ne soun:
 Nor Ypermistre or Adriane, ye tweyne:
 My lady cometh, that al this may disteyne.

4. For other laments for worthy men and beautiful ladies, or simply lists of such, cf. I. Gollancz, *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, Appendix, who cites or quotes in addition to the above, a Latin hymn of the 11th century, Philippe Mousket's *Chronique*, *Les Voeux du Paon*, *The Avowis of Alexander*, *Morte Arthure*, and others. It is almost superfluous to call attention to Villon's "Mais ou sont les neiges d'antan?"

The Order of Chivalry, Ch. iii, p. 47 f.

1. Hue of Tabarie explains very satisfactorily to Saladin what the order of Chivalry meant to Christendom; cf. *L'Ordene de Chevalerie*, in Barbazan-Méon, *Fabliaux*, I, pp. 59 f.; Isabel Butler, *Tales from the Old French*, pp. 232 f. Hue, willy-nilly, must confer knighthood on his captor Saladin:

Lors li commenche a ensignier
 Tout chou que il li covient faire,
 Caviaus, et barbe, et le viaire
 Li fist apparillier mout bel;
 Ch'est droiz a chevalier nouvel, 110
 Puis le fist en un baing entrer.

Sire, cil bains où vous baigniez,
 Ce est a chou senefiez,
 Tout ensemment com l'enfechons
 Nes de pechie ist hors de fons
 Quant de baptesme est aportez,
 Sire, tout ensemment devez 120
 Issir sanz nule vilounie,
 Et estre plains de courtoisie,
 Baignier devez en honeste,
 En courtoisie et en bonte,
 Et fere amer a toutes genz.

Après si l'a du baing oste,
 Si le choucha en un bel lit
 Qui estoit fez par grant delit. 130

Sire, cis lis vous senefie
 C'on doit par sa chevalerie
 Conquerre lit en paradis,
 Ke Diex otroie a ses amis;
 Car chou est li lis de repos:
 Qui la ne sera, mout iert sos.
 Quant el lit ot un poi geü,
 Sus le dresche, si l'a vestu 140
 De blans dras qui erent de lin;
 Lors dist Hues en son latin,
 Sire, nel tenez a escar,
 Chis dras qui sont pres de vo car
 Tout blanc, vous dounent a entendre
 Que chevaliers doit ades tendre
 A se car netement tenir,
 Se il a Diu velt parvenir.
 Après li veste robe vermeille: 149

Sire, cheste robe vous done

A entendre, chen est la somme
 Que vostre sanc deves espandre
 Et pour Sainte Eglise deffendre,
 Car tout chou doit chevaliers faire
 S'il veut a Diu de noient plaire. 162

Après li a cauches cauchies
 De saie brune et deliies.

Par cheste cauchement noire,
 C'aiiez tout ades en memoire 170
 La mort, et la terre ou girrez,
 Dont venistes, et ou irez :
 A chou doivent garder votre oel,
 Si n'enkerrez pas en orguel ;
 Car orgueus ne doit pas regner
 En chevalier ne demorer ;
 A simpleche doit ades tendre.

Puis si l'a chaint d'une chainture
 Blanche et petite de feture ;
 Sire, par cheste chainturete
 Est entendu que vo car nete,
 Vo rains, vo cors entirement
 Devez tenir tout fermement
 Ausi com en virginite,
 Vo cors tenir en netee,
 Luxure despire et blasmer ; 189

Après deus esperons li mist
 En ses deus pies, et si li dist :

Senefient chist esperon,
 Qui dore sont tout environ,
 Que vous aiiez bien en corage 205
 De Diu servir tout vostre eage ;

Après li a chainte l'espee.

Sire, fet il, chou e[s]t garant
 Contre l'assaut de l'anemi,
 Tout ensement com vees ci :
 Doi trenchant, qui vous font savoir
 C'ades doit chevaliers avoir
 Droiture et leaute ensanle,
 Chou est a dire, che me sanle, 220
 K'il doit ja povre gent garder,
 Ke li riches nel puist foler,
 Et le feble doit soustenir,
 Que li fors ne le puist honir.

Après li a en son cief mis
 Une coife qui tout iert blanche,
 Puis li dist la senefianche.

Tout ensement com vous savez
 Qu cheste coife est sanz ordure,

Ensement au jour de juise
 Des granz pechiez que fais avons,
 Devons l'ame rendre a estrous,
 Et pure et nete des folies
 Que li cors a tozjors basties. . . .

240

Saladin now lacks only the accolade, but that Hue refuses to give a pagan.

2. Cf. Jean de Meun, *L'Art de Chevalerie*, ed. U. Robert, SATF; Raimundo Lulio, *Libre del orde de Cavalleria*; J. Gohorry's (French) translation of the *Amadis*, Bk. XIII, p. 487.

'*Moz Coverz*,' Ch. iii, p. 51

A quotation from the lyrics of Thibaut IV shows very well the prevailing ideas about secrecy in the conduct of love; cf. P. Tarbé, *Chansons de Thibaut IV*, pp. 79-80. In *Chanson LIII*, line 7, a clerk asks:

Dites, Sire, qu'en font li fin amant?
 Sueffrent il tuit aussi si grant dolor . . .

And Thibaut advises:

Clers, je vos loe et prie que teigniez cois.
 Ne dites pas pourquoi ele vos hee:
 Mais servez tant, et faites le pourquoi
 Qu'ele sache ce que vostre cuers bee;
 Car par servir est mainte amor donee.
 Par *mos couvers* et par cointes semblans,
 Et par signes doit on venir avant. . . .

Qu'ele sache le mal et la dolor
 Que trait por li fins amis nuit et jor.

'*Dangier*' and *Haughty Ladies*, Ch. iii, p. 53

1. *Blancandin et l'orgueilleuse d'Amour*, ed. H. Michelant. After Blancandin has given her three kisses in her despite, L'Orgueilleuse exclaims in great anger:

Que ja home nen amerai
 Tos tans le di bien et dirai,
 Ne jou ne sai que est amor,
 Ne ja nel quier savoir nul jor.

1070

2. Blancandin is not disturbed by the lady's disdain: not so other mediaeval lovers; Chaucer addresses a pitiful *Complaint to his Lady*; ed. Skeat,

The more that I love yow, goodly free,
 The lasse fynde I that ye loven me; 105
 Allas! whan shal that harde wit amende?
 Wher is now al your wommanly pitee,
 Your gentilesse and your debonairtee,
 Wil ye no thing ther-of upon me spende?
 And so hool, swete, as I am youres al,
 And so gret wil as I have yow to serve,
 Now, certes, and ye lete me thus sterve,
 Yet have ye wonne ther-on but smal.

And therfor, swete, rewe on my peynes smerte, 130
 And of your grace granteth me som drope;
 For elles may me laste ne blis ne hope,
 Ne dwellen in my trouble careful herte.

See also *The Complaynt of Mars, Merciles Beaute, To Rose-mounde: A Balade*.

3. Gower, as usual, has followed in Chaucer's footsteps; cf. Macaulay, *op. cit.*, Balade XIX:

Jeo parle et prie et serve et faitz hommage
 De tout mon coer entier, mais nequedent
 Ne puis troever d'amour celle avantage,
 Dont ma tresdoulce dame ascunement
 Me deigne un soul regard pitousement
 Doner; mais plus qe Sibile le sage
 S'estrangle, ensi qe jeo ne sai coment
 Pour atrapper un tiel oisel en cage.

See further Balades XII, XIV, XVII, XVIII. The indebtedness of both Chaucer and Gower to Machaut, Deschamps, and others has not yet been adequately investigated.

Love's Commands and Influence, Ch. iii, p. 56

1. In the *Roman de la Rose* the God of Love instructs the lover how to behave; cf. Langlois' ed. SATF, vv. 2077 ff.

"Vilanie premierement,"
 Ce dist Amors, "vueil e comant
 Que tu guerpissies senz reprendre
 Se tu ne viaus vers moi mesprendre.
 Si maudi e escomenie
 Toz ceus qui aiment vilanie:
 Vilanie fait les vilains,
 Por ce n'est pas droiz que je l'ains.

2. Part of Gower's *Balade* (No. L) on the ennobling power of love has already been quoted, Ch. VI, p. 132. See further Barbazan-Méon, *Fabliaux*, II, p. 213; *Énéas*, vv. 8759, 9051, 9340; *Cligès*, v. 4120; Ovid, *Amores*, Elegies I, vi, I, ix; *Heroides*, XVII, 189, XIX, 53; *Metam.* IV, 96; J. H. Smith, *The Troubadours at Home*, I, p. 46.

Squire of Low Degree, Ch. iii, p. 61

1. The theme of a poor young man of humble station wooing and marrying a rich lady of high rank has the appearance of being proper to ballad literature; we see it illustrated in *Tom Potts*; cf. Child, *Ballads*, No. 109.

Now God thee saue, my ladye ffaire,
 The heyre of all my land tho'st bee.
 'Leaue of your suite,' the ladye sayd;
 'You are a lord of honor ffree;
 You may gett ladyes enowe att home,
 And I have a loue in mine owne countrye.
 'I haue a louer true of mine owne,
 A serving man of small degree;
 Thomas a Pott, itt is his name,
 He is the first loue that euer I had
 and the last that hee shalbee.

Lady Diamond, to her sorrow, also loved a man of small degree;
 cf. *Lady Diamond*, Child, *Ballads*, No. 269.

There was a king, and a very great king,
 And a king of meikle fame;
 He had not a child in the world but ane,
 Lady Daisy was her name.
 He had a very bonnie kitchen-boy,
 And William was his name;
 He never lay out o' Lady Daisy's bower
 Till he brought her body to shame.

Charms and Potions, Ch. iv, p. 74

1. Juvenal in his sixth satire denounces the use of love-charms with his usual vehemence.

His magicos adfert cantus, his Thessala vendit 610
 philtra, quibus valeat mentem vexare mariti
 et solea pulsare natis: quod desipis, inde est,
 inde animi caligo et magna oblivio rerum,
 quas modo gessisti. Tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
 et furere incipias ut avunculus ille Neronis, 615
 qui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli
 infudit; quae non faciet quod principis uxor?
 Ardebant cuncta et fracta conpage ruebant,
 non aliter quam si fecisset Iuno maritum
 insanum. Minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinae 620
 boletus, siquidem unius praecordia pressit
 ille senis tremulumque caput descendere iussit
 in caelum et longa manantia labra saliva;
 haec poscit ferrum atque ignes, haec potio torquet,
 haec lacerat mixtos equitum cum sanguine patres. 625
 Tanti partus equae, tanti una venefica constat.

2. The use of a curious charm to preserve love is noted by the Corrector Burchardi in the *Uspurgensis Chronicon*; cf. A. Schultz, *Das Höfische Leben*, 2nd. ed. 1889, I, p. 650, note 1.

CLIV. Gustasti de semine viri tui, et propter tua diabolica facta plus in amorem tuum exardesceret? CXL. Fecisti, quod quaedam mulieres facere solent: Tollent piscem vivum et mittunt cum eum in puerperium et tamdiu ibi tenent, donec mortuus fuerit et decocto pisce vel assato, maritis suis ad comedendum tradunt; ideo haec faciunt, ut plus in amorem earum inardescant? CLXI. Fecisti, quod quaedam mulieres facere solent: prosternunt se in faciem et discopertis natibus jubent, ut supra nudas nates conficiatur panis, et eo decocto tradunt maritis suis ad comedendum; hoc ideo faciunt ut plus exardescant in amorem illarum? CLXIV. Fecisti, quod quaedam mulieres facere solent: tollent menstruum sanguinem suum et immiscent cibo vel potu et dant viris suis ad manducandum vel bibendum, ut plus diligantur ab eis? CXXIX. Fecisti, quod quaedam mulieres facere solent: deponent vestimenta sua, et totum corpus nudum melle inungunt et sic mellito suo corpore supra triticum in quodam linteo in terra deposito sese huc atque illuc saepius revolvunt et cincti tritici grana, quae humido corpore adherent, cautissime colligunt, et in mollam mittunt et retrorsum contra selem mollam circumire faciunt et in farinam redigunt et de illa farina panem conficiunt, ut sic maritis suis ad comedendum tradunt ut comesto pane marcescant et deficiant?

Feudal Marriage, Ch. iv, p. 81

1. In feudal times it was a woman's duty to the state, if she possessed or was heiress to land, to marry; Laurière's edition of

Ragueau's *Glossaire du Droit françois*, under the entry "mariage," defines the situation: "Non seulement les veuves et les filles au dessous de 60 ans qui possedoient des Fiefs de corps étoient obligées de se marier, pour faire desservir leurs Fiefs, mais elles étoient encore obligées de prendre des maris qui fussent agreables a leurs Seigneurs, parce que les Seigneurs avoient interest que les Fiefs qui relevoient d'eux, fussent desservis par des hommes qui leur fussent fideles et affectionez. Pour cet effet quand elles avoient choisi un homme pour etre leur mari, elles devoient obtenir des Seigneurs la permission de l'espouser, et quand elles n'avoient jetté les yeux sur personne, ou quand les Seigneurs n'avoient pas voulu admettre le mary qui leur été proposé, . . . ils [the lords] étoient en droit d'offrir a leurs femmes, ou filles de corps trois Barons ou trois maris, et elles étoient obligées d'en espouser un des trois, a moins qu'elles n'eussent une excuse légitime."

Hoaxed Husband, Ch. iv, pp. 81 f.

1. Jean de Meun remarks in the *Roman de la Rose* that ". . . cil a moult poi de savoir / Qui seus cuide sa fame avoir" —(v. 14056). John Thomson and the Bastars de Buillon might equally well have made some such reflection on learning that their wives had eloped with pagan princes. The "ridiculous ballad" (*John Thomson and the Turk*) omits the elopement scene entirely, nor is *Li Bastars de Buillon*, ed. A. Scheler, superabundantly explicit. Baudouin's pagan wife, Ludie,

As maronniers conmande c'on se meche au chemin,
 Au lés devers Orbrie, le chastel marberin,
 Ou Ludie laissierent, qui fist grant larrechin, 5760
 Car le dame manda son ami Corsabrin
 Le roy du Mont Oscur qui creoit Apolin,
 . . . Tant fist par son engin
 Qu'elle ot un maronnier a cui dist son couvin,
 Et chius aida le dame a brasser son venin. 5765

Ludie la royne pas en Dieu ne creoit,
 Ne le gentil bastart de nulle riens n'amoit.
 A un maronnier fist, par besans que donnoit,
 Que chius le mist par nuit en se nef qu'il avoit, 5770
 Et devers Mont Oscur la royne menoit.
 Au port a Mont Oscur ses vaissaus arrivoit;
 Corsabrin vint encontre. Quand le royne voit,
 De che qu'elle avoit fait durement le prisoit.
 Lors adestra le dame, ou palais le menoit,
 A le loy de Mahon la royne espousoit. 5775

Baudouin seeks out his faithless lady at Corsabrin's palace :

Quant le dame le voit, lors dist par traïson :
 "Bien soïés vous venus en cheste mansion,
 N'en vorroie tenir le tresor Pharaon, 5920
 De vous veoir avoie grande devotion,
 De che que vous ai fait vous requier le pardon.

Corsabrin expects to hang Baudouin, but he is disappointed.

The Rape of Guinevere, Ch. iv, p. 87

1. The account of the abduction of Guinevere in the *Vita Gildae* is as follows; cf. T. Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, XIII, 109.

. . . unde afflictus nimium non potuit ibi amplius habitare, reliquit insulam, ascendit naviculam et ingressus est Glastonianam cum magno dolore, Melvas rege regnante in aestiva regione. susceptus vir suscipiendus a Glastoniense abbate docuit confratres et diversas plebes seminans semen seminandum caelestis doctrinae. ibi scripsit historias de regibus Britanniae. . . obsessa est itaque ob Arthuro tyranno cum innumerabili multitudine propter Guenuvar uxorem suam violatam et raptam a praedicto iniquo rege et ibi ductam propter refugiam inviolati loci propter munitiones arundineti et fluminis ac paludis causa tutelae. quaesiverat rex rebellis reginam per unius anni circulum, audivit tandem illam remanentem illice commovit exercitus totius Cornubiae comitante clero et Gildae Sapiente intravit medias acies, consuluit Melvas regi suo pacifice, ut redderet raptam. redita ergo fuit, quae reddenda fuerat, per pacem benivolentiam.

2. Dafydd ab Gwilym's poems cited above on p. 88 are as follows; cf. Jones and Owen, *Poems of Dafydd ab Gwilym*, p. 106:

Och ! nad gwiw-uchenaid gwas,
 I mi alw am grefft Melwas;
 Y lleir, drwy hud a lledryd,
 Aeth a bun i eitha' byd;
 I'r coed ir ai'r hocedydd:
 I furiau caingc o frig gwýdd:
 A dringo heno, fal hwn,
 Yn uchel a chwenychwn.

Jones and Owen, *op. cit.*, pp. 326-327 :

Astrus fu'r ffenestr oesdraul
 Lle rhoed i ddwyn lleufer haul:
 Na bwy' hen a bu o hud
 Ffenestr a hon unffunud;

Dieithr hwyl, da uthr helynt.
Yr hon o Gaerlleon gynt,
Y doe Felwas o draserch
Drwyddi, heb arswydi serch,
Cur trymhaint cariad tramawr,
Gynt ger ty ferch Gogfran Gawr.

Love-Pains, Ch. v, p. 99

1. In the *Roman de la Rose* the God of Love relates to Amant some of the vicissitudes that are in store for him as a lover; cf. Langlois' ed. SATF.

Quant tu avras ton cuer doné, Si con je t'ai ci sarmoné, Lors te vendront les aventures Qui as amanz sont griés e dures.	2268
Sovent, quant il te sovendra De tes amors, te covendra Partir des genz par estovoir, Qu'il ne puissent apercevoir	2272
Le mal don tu es angoisseus.	
Jou voudroie par covenant Que je morisse maintenant.	2460
La mort ne me greveroit mie Se je moroie es braz m'amie. Mout me grieve Amors e tormente; Sovent me plaing e me demente.	2464
Mais se tant fait Amors que j'aie De m'amie enterine joie, Bien seront mi mal acheté.	

2. But love-pains are to be expected, as Sappho well knew. Her classic lament may be found in Bergk, *Anthologia Lyrica*, 2, pp. 362-363 (text only) and in H. T. Wharton, *Sappho*, p. 56 (text and translation) :

τό μοι μὲν
καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόασεν·
ὥς γὰρ εὔιδον βροχέως σε, φώνας
οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἴκει·
ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲν γλώσσα ἔαγε λέπτον δ'
αὐτίκα χροῦ πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμακεν,
ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημ' ἐπιρρόμ-
βεισι δ' ἄκουαι.
ἀ δέ μ' ἴδρωσ κακχέεται, τρόμος δέ

πάσαν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα δέ ποίας
 ἔμμι, τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω 'πιδείης
 φαίνομαι [ἄλλα].

Woeful Lover Cured by Lady, Ch. v, p. 120

1. In addition to *Cligès*, v. 5708 f., *Lancelot*, v. 1352 f., *Gui de Warwick*, v. 265 f., the moral Gower has made use of the conceit that a lover can be cured of his love-pains only by the lover or lady in Balade XXVII; cf. Macaulay, *op. cit.*

Cupide m'ad feru de tiele plaie
 Parmi le coer d'un dart d'amour ardent,
 Que nulle medicine m'est verraie,
 Si vous n'aidetz; mais certes jeo me paie,
 Car soubtz la cure de si bone mein
 Meulx vuil languir qe sanz vous estre sein.

2. In the *Vita Merlini* it is related that the mighty enchanter went mad from grief over the loss of some friends and became a *silvester homo*; all attempts to restore him to his senses failed until a messenger, to the accompaniment of a zither, sang him an account of Guendolene's lamentations for him (her absent husband). Merlin apparently regains his reason, but whether because of the music or because of the repetition of Gwendolene's name, one cannot be sure; we are inclined to think it was the latter. Cf. San Marte (i.e. A. Schulz), *Die Sagen von Merlin*.

Haec tua quae moritur sic pro te, Guendoloena,
 Quid faciet? Dabiture viro? viduamve manere
 Praecipis? aut tecum quocumque recesseris ire? 365

Postquam venit eo, patienter stare coegit
 Cervos ante fores, proclamans: "Guendoloena!
 Guendoloena veni! te talia munera spectant."
 Ocius ergo venit subridens Guendoloena, 459

Attacks on Women, Ch. vi, pp. 132 f.

1. It was almost impossible for a mediaeval author to avoid making some uncomplimentary remarks about women. The *Amadas* poet is no exception; but if some women are bad, a good woman, he is careful to point out, is worth a hundred men. For his censure he had good "authority" in no less a document than

the *Aureolus Theophrasti Liber de Nuptiis*, preserved in part by John of Salisbury in his *Polycraticus*, Lib. VIII, cap. xi; Webb, II, pp. 296 f.

. . . Fertur auctore Ieronimo aureolus Theophrasti liber de nuptiis in quo quaerit an uir sapiens ducat uxorem; et cum diffinisset, si pulchra esset, si bene morata, si honestis parentibus, si ipse sanus et diues, sic sapientem aliquando inire matrimonium, statim intulit: Haec autem raro in nuptiis uniuersa concordant; non est igitur uxor ducenda sapienti. Primum enim impediri studia philosophiae, nec posse quemquam libris et uxori pariter inseruire. Multa esse quae matronarum usibus necessaria sint; pretiosae uestes, aurum, gemmae, sumptus, ancillae, supellex uaria, lecticae et exedra deaurata. Deinde per totas noctes garrulae conquestiones: Illa ornator procedit in publicum, haec honoratur ab omnibus, ego in conuentu feminarum misella despicior; cur aspiciebas uicinam? quid cum ancillula loquebaris? de foro ueniens quid attulisti? Non amicum habere possumus, non sodalem. Alterius amorem, suum odium suspicatur. Si doctissimus praeceptor in qualibet urbium fuerit, nec uxorem relinquere nec cum sarcina ire possumus. Pauperem alere difficile est; diuitem ferre tormentum. Adde quod nulla est uxoris electio, sed qualiscumque obuenerit habenda; si iracunda, si fatua, si deformis, si superba, si fetida, quodcumque uitii est, post nuptias discimus. Equus, asinus, bos, canis et uilissima mancipia, uestes quoque et lebetes, sedile ligneum calix et urceolus fictilis probantur prius et sic emuntur. Sola uxor non ostenditur ne ante displiceat quam ducatur. Attendenda est semper eius facies et pulcritudo laudanda, ne, si alteram aspexeris, se estimet displicere. Vocanda domina, celebrandus natalis eius, iurandum per salutem illius, ut sit superstes optandum, honoranda nutrix eius et gerula, seruus paternus et alumpnus et formosus assecla et procurator calamistratus et in longam securamque libidinem exsectus spado, sub quibus nominibus adulteri delitescunt. Quoscumque illa delixerit, ingrati etiam amandi. Si totam ei domum regendam commiseris, seruiendum est; si aliquid tuo arbitrio reseruaueris, fidem sibi haberi non putabit et in odium uertetur ac iurgia, nisi cito consulueris, parabit uenena. Anus et aurifices et ariolos et institores gemmarum sericarumque uestium si intromiseris, periculum pudicitiae est; si prohibueris, suspicionis iniuria. Verum quid prodest etiam diligens custodia, cum uxor seruari impudica non possit, pudica non debeat? Infida enim custos est castitatis necessitas, et illa uere pudica dicenda est, cui licuit peccare si uoluit. Pulcra cito adamatur, fede facillime concupiscit; difficile custoditur quod plures amant, molestum est possidere quod nemo habere dignetur. Minore tamen miseria deformis habetur quam formosa seruatur. Nichil tutum est in quo totius populi uota suspirant; alius forma, alius fascetiis, alius ingenio, alius liberalitate sollicitat; aliquo modo expugnatur quod undique incessitur. Quod si propter dispensationem domus et languoris solatia et fugam solitudinis ducuntur uxores, multo melius dispensat seruus fidelis, obediens auctoritati domini et dispensationi eius obtemperans, quam uxor, quae in eo se estimat dominam si aduersus uiri fecerit uoluntatem, id est quod placet, non quod iubetur. Assidere autem egrotanti magis possunt amici et uernulae beneficiis obligati quam illa quae nobis imputet lacrimas suas et hereditatis spe uendat illuiem et sollicitudinem iactans languentis animum despera-

tionem conturbet. Quod si languerit, coegrotandum est et numquam ab eius lectulo recedendum. Aut, si bono fuerit, et suavis uxor, quae tamen rara auiis est, cum parturiente gemimus, cum periclitante torquemur. . . .

2. It was no doubt in the *Polycraticus* that Jean de Meun made the acquaintance of Theophrastus; but he draws upon Valerius also; cf. *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Langlois;

Preudefame, par saint Denis!	
Don il est meins que de fenis,	8688
Si con Valerius tesmoigne,	
Ne peut nus amer qu'el nou poigne	
De granz peeurs e de granz cures	
E d'autres mescheances dures.	8692
Meins que de fenis? par ma teste!	
Par comparaison plus oneste,	
Veire meins que de blans corbeaus	
Combien qu'eus aient les cors beaus.	8696

3. The famous *Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum*, attributed to Walter Map, is found in that author's *De Nugis Curialium*, *Distinctio quarta*, iii; cf. the edition of Thomas Wright for the Camden Society, 1850, and that of M. R. James in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Oxford, 1914. The passage followed by Jean de Meun is found in Wright's ed., pp. 144-145:

. . . Optima foemina, quae rarior est phoenice, amari non potest sine amaritudine metus et sollicitudinis et frequentis infortunii. Lalae vero, quarum tam copiosa sunt examina ut nullus locus sit expers malignitatis earum, cum amantur amare pungunt, et afflictioni vacant usque ad divisionem corporis et spiritus.

4. About half a century after Jean de Meun the attack was continued by Guillaume de Machaut in the *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*; cf. the ed. of Hoepffner, SATF.

Il est certaine et je l'affirme,	
Qu'en cuer de femme n'a riens ferme,	3020
Rien seür, rien d'estableté,	
Fors toute variableté.	
Et puis qu'elle est si variable	
Qu'elle en rien n'est ferme n'estable	
Et que de petit se varie,	3025
Il faut que de po pleure et rie.	
Dont grant joie et grant tourment	
N'i peulent estre longuement,	
Car sa nature li enseigne	

Que tost rie et de po se plaigne;	3030
Tost ottroie, tost escondit;	
Elle a son dit et son desdit,	
Et s'oublie certainement	
Ce que ne voit, legierement.	3034

Even Thomas, who related the loves of Tristan and Iseult, could not refrain from pointing out certain traits of female character; cf. the edition of Bédier, vv. 339 ff.

Perhaps sufficient space has been devoted to a subject for which, by virtue of its nature, the documentation is almost inexhaustible; we may put an end to this consideration and to these notes by recalling the titles of certain definite satires against women: *Dit de Chicheface et Bigorne*, *Evangile des Femmes*; *Blasme des Femmes*, answered by *Bonté des Femmes*; Deschamps' *Miroir du Mariage* on the one side and Martin Le Franc's *Champion des Dames* on the other; the controversy of Jean de Monstereul and Christine de Pisan on the *Roman de la Rose*; Antoine de la Sale's *Quinze Joies de Mariage*. Outside of French literature may be mentioned Juvenal's sixth satire and Boccaccio's *Corbaccio*.

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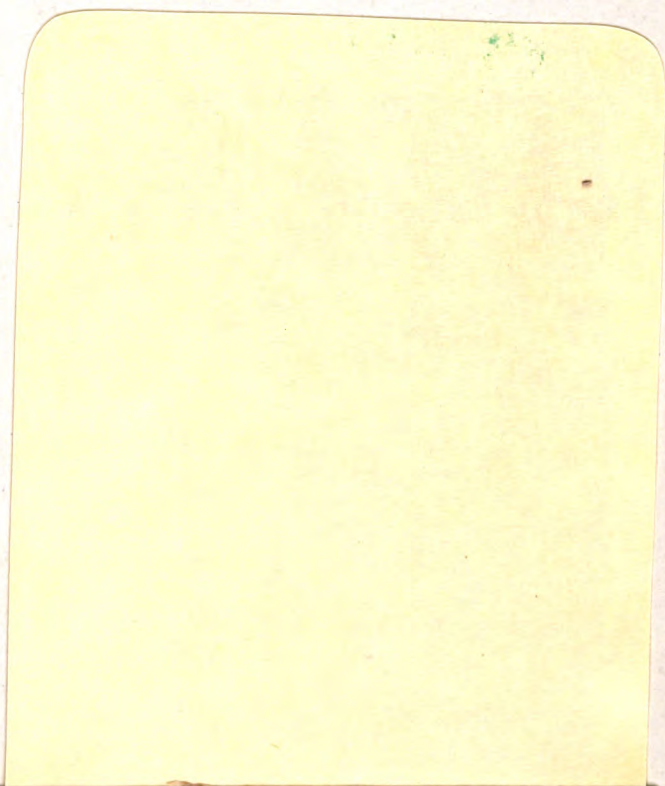
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